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AN

ESSAY

ON THE

IMPOLICY

OF THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

IN TWO PARTS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

BY

The Rev. T. CLARKSON, M. A.

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TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE Eſq.

ONE OF THE

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

FOR THE

COUNTY OF YORK.

SIR,

TO a Gentleman, like you, whoſe publick and private actions are founded on principle, and who are content with doing your duty without the tribute of popular applauſe, I fear that the peruſal of this page may be rather diſtreſſing: nor am I ſure that I ſhall not, in ſome degree, incur your cenſure, for having printed it without either your permiſſion or your knowledge. You will conſider, however, how difficult it is for me, who am acquainted with your exertions in the cauſe of humanity and freedom, to paſs them over on ſuch an occaſion as this. I truſt, therefore, that in addreſſing this little book to you, as a zealous advocate in behalf of the oppreſſed

Africans, you will excuſe the liberty I have taken, under the circumſtance now explained; and I muſt intreat you to believe, that no encomium ſhould ever have been paid you by me, unleſs I had believed it to have been previouſly earned.

I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your ſincere,

And obedient Servant,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

IT may be expected, that, in offering ſo many articles of information to the publick, and ſuch as will materially affect the policy of the ſlave trade, ſomething ſhould be ſaid of their authenticity, or the aſſurance the publick may have, that they are true.

The productions of Africa are the firſt objects of conſideration in this work. Whatever I have ſaid relative to the exiſtence of theſe, has been collected from *living* evidence, and of the greateſt part of them I have now ſpecimens *in my poſſeſſion*.

The cruelties, practiſed by the officers of ſlave veſſels on the perſons of their unfortunate crews, (which is another object of conſideration) has been ſtated from various *depoſitions*, voluntarily made laſt year. I have had alſo *ocular demonſtration*, as far as a ſight of their mangled bodies will be admitted as a proof, that ſuch cruelties were exerciſed upon them; and I have had the ſatisfaction of making ſome of the perpetrators *acknowledge* them, by the payment of a fine.

The loſs of ſeamen, both in the ſlave trade and other trades, (which is a principal object of conſideration in this work) is ſo exact, that, though it was neceſſary to have an account of no leſs than *ſeven* or *eight thouſand* of them to aſcertain the fact, yet the name of every individual can be given.

The liſt of plantations, that have been cited as having ſupported themſelves independently of the ſlave trade, has been made up either from letters lately received on the ſubject, or from the oral ſtatement of the proprietors themſelves, or from thoſe gentlemen who became acquainted with their ſituation by living near them.

With reſpect to other ſtatements, which I may diſtinguiſh by the name of miſcellaneous, they are of equal authority. I have always gone for them myſelf to the fountain head; and, with the aſſiſtance of my worthy aſſociates in the cauſe, neither labour nor expenſe has been ſpared in obtaining them from that quarter.

Having ſaid a few words on the authenticity of the pages now to be offered to the publick, I ſhall only add, that I ſhall think myſelf ſufficiently repaid for any trouble I have taken, if they tend to throw any light on the ſubject; and to convince mankind, that Providence has univerſally made the ſcale to preponderate in favour of humanity; or that the African ſlave trade has not that *ſound policy* for its baſis, which people have but too generally imagined.

PART I.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

IN a former Eſſay, on the "Commerce of the Human Species," I particularly enlarged on the Injuſtice and Inhumanity of that, which is exhibited in the African trade. In the preſent, I ſhall undertake to ſhew (unleſs I deceive myſelf greatly) that it is as *impolitick*, as I have proved it to be inhuman and unjuſt.

There are many general arguments that muſt occur to every ſenſible and diſintereſted man who is at all acquainted with the ſubject, againſt this commerce, independently of its iniquity or its barbarous effects.

The firſt connection, which the Europeans ever had with the Africans, was for *Slaves*. This continued to be for many years the only traffick for which they had intercourſe with each other. Some Britiſh merchants, however, finding by the reports of their agents, who had viſited this coaſt, that it abounded with gums, wax, ambergris, honey, ivory, and gold, held out to the natives the proſpect of a new and additional trade. The Africans were no ſooner made acquainted with, than they embraced the plan. They began to collect the different articles accordingly, and have continued in the purſuit of them, though not without hazard to their perſons, to the preſent day.

The commercial connection between the Europeans and Africans became by theſe means more extenſive than before, and continued on this ſcale, till it was diſcovered that the ſame continent abounded with many valuable woods.

The merchants of that day, apprized of the diſcovery, immediately propoſed their ſchemes as their predeceſſors

had done before, but deſpaired of ſucceſs; conceiving that the Africans, who bore the character of an indolent people, would never engage in ſo laborious an employment as that of cutting wood.

They were, however, agreeably diſappointed. The Africans embarked in this with as much alacrity as in the former ſcheme. They went more than two hundred miles into the inland country, cut down wood ſimilar to that which had been pointed out, and in the rainy ſeaſons brought it in their canoes to the ſhips, enabling the ſame merchants to gain a profit on the new article, though ſold at an eaſy price. This trade was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *wood* trade, and is carried on more extenſively now, than at any former period; though the whole of the trade in the natural productions of the country bears no ſort of compariſon with that in ſlaves.

This narration of facts carries with it, firſt, a proof of the *commercial ſpirit* of the Africans, who have no ſooner had a new and additional line of intercourſe pointed out, than they have embraced it.

Now, if we conſider that the African ſoil is undoubtedly more fertile than that of any other quarter of the globe; if we conſider that its natives are poſſeſſed of the commercial ſpirit deſcribed; that they ſpeak the European languages; that they are adepts in arithmetical calculations, and capable of conducting trade, it muſt ſurely be the higheſt *impolicy* that ſuch a country, and poſſeſſed by ſuch inhabitants, ſhould be ſcarcely known but as a mart for *human blood*. It muſt, I repeat, be impolicy in the higheſt degree in the Europeans, becauſe, under the circumſtances now deſcribed, much higher advdntages might be derived in another line of trade.

It ſhews, ſecondly, that the difficulty of engaging the Africans in any new line of commerce would not be ſo great, as has been generally imagined.

It is certainly much to be feared, that, while *ſlaves* continue to be the grand deſideratum of our African intercourſe, very little can be expected from any additional trade in the natural productions of the country. Not but that more of the natives would be found to embark in it than there are at preſent, but that theſe would be ſo few

for

for the purpoſe, while the chief part of our attention was directed to the other, that it could hardly be carried to that extent, which would render it of much national importance.

But ſuppoſe that the ſlave trade were aboliſhed; ſuppoſe that we now entered into the one with as much zeal and alacrity, as we had done formerly in the other; would it not be reaſonable to preſume, that, under ſuch encouragements, we ſhould ſoon have a valuable and an extenſive trade? If the Africans could go two hundred miles into the inland country, and engage in the laborious employment of cutting wood, it is reaſonable to think, that they could be brought to become the cultivators of their own lands. I preſume alſo, that *free labour* could be introduced among them: it being no more difficult to introduce cultivation, or *any ſyſtem* of cultivation there, than it was, ſince the beginning of the ſlave trade, to have given birth to the various offices of brokers upon the coaſt, to have communicated to them the European languages, to have introduced the different media of exchange, and to have eſtabliſhed the whole of that regular ſyſtem of trade, which ſubſiſts at the preſent day.

Theſe obſervations being made, I ſhall lay down two poſitions: firſt, that the Africans, by proper encouragement, can be brought into *habits of labour*: and ſecondly, that *free labour* can be made the medium, through which the productions of their country may be collected, or brought to maturity and uſe.

Theſe are the only data, which I ſhall require; and, having laid them down, I ſhall proceed immediately to the point, making a replication to all the arguments, which I have ever yet found to be advanced in defence of the policy of the trade in ſlaves.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

SECTION I.

The patrons of the trade have been long accuſtomed to advance, that it is a trade of *great value to the nation.*

I confeſs that I have never been able to comprehend their meaning. I ſhall therefore, before I attempt to make a reply, canvaſs the expreſſion.

Do they mean that the ſlaves taken from Africa become labourers in the colonies? that theſe labourers make ſugar? that this ſugar produces a revenue, and that the trade therefore is of great national importance? If this be their meaning, I reply, that it is *ſugar* that produces the revenue, and not the ſlave.—That the cane can be cultivated by *free men*, and farther, that it can be cultivated, under certain regulations, without the importation of another African from the coaſt.

To ſuppoſe then that they aſcribe to the inſtrument which may be varied, what is due only to the fixed object of cultivation, or, at any rate, to a concatenation of circumſtances, is to ſuppoſe them to be incapable of diſcrimination, and is therefore a ſuppoſition, which I am not at liberty to make.

Do they mean again, that ſlaves employ ſhips to tranſport them? that theſe ſhips employ ſeamen, and that theſe ſeamen are the pillars of the ſtate? But theſe are but *appendages* of the trade. Rice, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and other productions of the African ſoil, would, in this point of view, be equally beneficial.—I preſume then they muſt mean that ſlaves, conſidered of themſelves as a commodity, and without any of the appendages deſcribed, conſtitute an article of commerce, that is highly beneficial to the ſtate.

This being preſumed, I ſhall ſtate the queſtion in the following manner.

Africa has two ſorts of commodities to offer us,—her natural productions, and—her ſlaves.—The queſtion is, in which of the two, conſidered abſtractedly by themſelves, it is moſt politick to deal. If in conſequence of ſuch a compariſon

compariſon it ſhould appear, that a traffick in the one would be of much more national importance than in the other, I preſume that the other, inaſmuch as it engroſſes the principal part of our attention, and diverts it from one that ſhould be more beneficial, will be allowed to be *impolitick*.

To reply to the argument advanced, I ſhall firſt turn my attention to the woods of Africa.

In the preceding chapter it was obſerved there were two trades eſtabliſhed upon the coaſt, independent of, and having no connection with, the trade in ſlaves. The firſt eſtabliſhed was that in gums, wax, ambergris, honey, ivory, and gold. The ſecond was that in woods. Theſe trades are now united. The merchant, who fits out a veſſel for wood, fits it out alſo for as many of the other commodities as he can procure. However, the great bulk of his cargo, and object of his voyage, being that of wood, his veſſel is termed a *wood veſſel*. I make this diſtinction, not only becauſe the merchant makes it himſelf, but becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to uſe the expreſſion in many parts of the work.

The firſt African woods, that were known to be objects of commercial importance, were *Camwood* and *Barwood*. Theſe were imported by themſelves for ſome years. In proceſs of time, however, it was found that *Ebony* was a native of the coaſt: and ſoon afterwards *Lignum Vitæ* was diſcovered.

Theſe are the only African woods that are brought home as commercial articles at the preſent day. But as we already import, or ſhall import in a little time as much of theſe as can poſſibly be conſumed, no new proſpects are to be formed from thence. I ſhall therefore paſs them over, and advert to ſuch, as being now in embryo, would, if called forth by the abolition of the trade in ſlaves, afford a ſubſtitute for it of *greater* benefit to the nation.

That Africa abounds with hidden treaſures, may be collected from thoſe, which accident has already diſcovered. It is certain, however, that this extenſive continent is as yet unexplored. The vegetable productions are but little known, and the foſſils leſs. The barks, woods, roots, fruits, and leaves, have been hardly noticed by any naturaliſt;

naturaliſt; and the ſtones, earths, bitumens, and ores, have not been ſo much as ſeen by the eye of a chemical obſerver.

Nor is this ignorance of the natural productions of Africa to excite our wonder or ſurpriſe. The Africans, moſtly in an unimproved ſtate, and at beſt ignorant of the various mechanical arts that are practiſed in Europe, and of the various commodities that are the objects of European commerce, cannot be ſuppoſed to be capable of pointing out, of themſelves, ſuch of their own productions as would be valuable in trade.

The Europeans, on the other hand, that is, nine in ten, who viſit this extenſive continent, viſit it for *ſlaves*. This is the grand object of their voyage. It engroſſes all their thoughts, and occaſions them to overlook even the common productions of the place. And ſo true is this obſervation, that many, who have viſited this coaſt for years, can give no better account of it in this reſpect, than thoſe who have never ſeen it at all. I muſt add to, that little leiſure, and ſtill leſs opportunity would be afforded them, in the preſent poſture of affairs there, of gratifying their wiſhes, even had they a turn for botanical or chemical purſuits.

To theſe circumſtances then, but ultimately to the *trade in ſlaves*, is to be aſcribed the ignorance before mentioned. Under theſe diſadvantages, the reader will hardly expect that I ſhall be able to ſay much of the woods of Africa. Such, however, as accident has diſcovered within the laſt three years, ſhall immediately be pointed out.

Within the period now aſſigned it has been fully ſubſtantiated, that mahogany grows upon the coaſt. About eighteen tons of it were collected there, and imported into this country in the year 1786.

Not long after this, a veſſel, having delivered her ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, returned home. In diſcharging ſome firewood, which had been taken in upon the coaſt, a ſmall billet was diſcovered of a different appearance from the reſt. This excited the attention of the diſcoverer, who ſent it to be poliſhed. It proved, in conſequence of this trial, to be the tulip wood, ſo called from its reſemblance

to

to that flower, the ground of it being of a ſtraw colour, and inlaid with crimſon veins. This wood would be of the greateſt importance to cabinet workers and inlayers, and ſo valuable, that they would be glad to purchaſe it at the rate of three ſhillings per pound.

The next ſpecies of wood, that excited the attention of the importer, was a ſmall log brought home in one of the wood veſſels before deſcribed. It was of a pale ſtraw colour. The veins of it were yellow, and had a beautiful appearance. It was remarkably light, and yet cloſe grained, and ſeemed peculiarly adapted for muſical inſtruments. It would have made, however, elegant light furniture, and would have been in great requeſt with the artiſts of the former deſcription.

About the ſame time, in which this log was diſcovered, another wood veſſel, belonging to the ſame port, brought home a ſpecimen of the bark of a tree, that produced a very valuable yellow dye, and far beyond any other ever in uſe in this country.

The virtues of it were diſcovered in the following manner. A gentleman, reſident upon the coaſt, ordered ſome wood to be cut down to erect an hut. While the people were felling it, he was ſtanding by. During the operation, ſome juice flew from the bark of it, and ſtained one of the ruffles of his ſhirt. He thought that the ſtain would have waſhed out, but on wearing it again, found that the yellow ſpot was much more bright and beautiful than before, and that it gained in luſtre every ſubſequent time of waſhing. Pleaſed with the diſcovery, which he knew to be of ſo much importance to the manufacturers of Great Britain, and for which a conſiderable premium had been offered, he ſent home the bark now mentioned as a ſpecimen. He is ſince unfortunately dead; and little hopes are to be entertained of falling in with this tree again, unleſs ſimilar accidents ſhould diſcover it, or a change ſhould take place in our commercial concerns with Africa.

I ſhall now mention another valuable wood, which, like all thoſe that have been pointed out, was diſcovered by accident in the ſame year. Another wood veſſel, belonging to the ſame port, was diſcharging her cargo. Among the barwood a ſmall billet was diſcovered, the colour

colour of which was ſo ſuperior to that of the reſt, as to lead the obſerver to ſuſpect, that it was of a very different ſpecies; though it is clear that the natives, by cutting it of the ſame ſize and dimenſions, and by bringing it on board at the ſame time, had, on account of its red colour, miſtaken it for the other. One half of this billet was cut away in experiments. It was found to produce a colour that emulated the carmine, and was deemed to be ſo valuable in the dying trade, that an offer was immediately made of ſixty guineas per ton, for any quantity that could be procured. The other half has been ſince ſent back to the coaſt, as a guide to collect more of the ſame ſort; though it is a matter of doubt, whether, under the circumſtances that have been related, the ſame tree can be aſcertained again.

I could mention here ſeveral other woods, which would perhaps be new to the reader, and which would form a valuable branch of trade; but thoſe which I have mentioned already, are ſo important of themſelves, as to preclude the neceſſity of a longer liſt. I ſhall therefore confine my obſervations to theſe.

If the ſlave trade were aboliſhed, and the two poſitions, mentioned in the former ſection, realized, it is evident that a trade might be ſtruck out in the preceding articles to great advantage and extent. The demand for mahogany is increaſing not only in this country, but in Germany, to a conſiderable amount. Suppoſe then that the new trade were eſtabliſhed, what advantages would reſult from the importation of this article in particular from the coaſt?

Theſe advantages, I reply, will be beſt ſeen by compariſon. The principal part of the mahogany, which we import, comes from the Bay of Honduras, and is cut by *ſlaves*. In Africa, according to the poſition laid down, it would be cut by *free* men; a circumſtance of the higheſt importance; as the exertions of *free*, compared with thoſe of *ſervile* labour, are at leaſt in the proportion of three to two. The inſurance alſo from the Bay of Honduras to the Britiſh ports is from five to ten, while that from Africa to the ſame place is but two and a half per cent. The raw article, therefore, from theſe circumſtances, and additionally

additionally that of lower freightage, would be brought into the hands of the merchant and manufacturer, cheaper by more than a third than it comes to them at preſent.

I muſt add too, that the voyage in the latter caſe is much leſs dangerous than in the former. That the inſurer would be benefited by the change; and that as it is a maxim long eſtabliſhed, that the cheaper the material the greater the demand for it, a conſiderable increaſe would be made to the exportation of this article; a circumſtance, in every point of view beneficial to the nation.

With reſpect to the other woods, thoſe for *cabinet work* and *dying*, no advantage can reſult from compariſon, becauſe there is no other place upon the globe, from whence ſuch treaſures could be derived.

The former, however, would certainly be of great conſequence. We already excel all the artiſts of the world in this particular department, and export largely.—But what an additional ſcope would the many and variegated woods of Africa afford to the taſte and ingenuity of our countrymen! It is to this taſte and ingenuity, conſpicuous in the variety of patterns, and beautiful and harmonious diſpoſition of things, that we are to attribute our ſuperiority in this line of mechaniſm, and that we become mechanics for the world.

But with reſpect to the latter, they are certainly beyond all valuation. It is well known, at leaſt in particular manufacturing towns, that the African dyes are ſuperiour to thoſe of any other quarter of the globe.—Our manufacturers have long viewed them with a jealous eye. They have promiſed themſelves prodigious fortunes, and their country a laſting and extenſive benefit, could they but make themſelves maſters of the art and myſtery of the compoſition of theſe invaluable dyes. It is certain, however, that almoſt all the colours, which the Africans uſe, except that of blue, are procured from their own trees, either by friction or decoction; and that though they have merit in the preparation of them, yet the great myſtery would ceaſe, if the ſlave trade was aboliſhed, as ſuch an event would give us an opportunity of making the diſcovery, and of introducing them as articles of commerce.

I ſhall

I ſhall make no further obſervation on this head, than that if accident has diſcovered ſuch invaluable treaſures as thoſe deſcribed, what might not be expected, if this extenſive continent were explored? It at preſent affords us, comparatively ſpeaking, ſcarcely any thing elſe but ſlaves. Will any perſon aſſert, that the woods of Africa alone, without reference to any of its other productions, would not be more lucrative both to the merchant, the manufacturer, and the nation, than the whole trade in *ſlaves?*

SECTION II.

But the woods, though uncommonly curious and valuable, are not the only articles that are to be put into the ſcale on this occaſion. Another valuable commerce would be opened to us in other commodities, ſuch as drugs, peppers, and ſpices.

That Africa abounds with many valuable drugs, is not only evident from the teſtimony of thoſe who have reſided there, but from our late and preſent importations. We have already derived many valuable drugs from that quarter: but theſe, like the woods, have been accidentally diſcovered, while others ſtill more valuable, are yet in embryo.

The firſt, that were the objects of commerce, were gum ſenegal, ſanguis draconis, almonds, and afterwards palm oil.

In proceſs of time the virtues of gum copal were diſcovered by the French, who imported it into their own country. We were not long unacquainted with this event, or with the advantages that reſulted from the diſcovery. We endeavoured to obtain a deſcription of the tree that produced it, and having ſucceeded in our attempts, pointed it out to the natives, and brought its produce home.

The next that were brought to light, were gum rubrum aſtringens, and gum euphorbium. Theſe continued to be the laſt on the liſt, till the year 1786, when gum guaiacum made its appearance from the coaſt.

All theſe articles, or at leaſt ſpecimens of them, have been brought from thence into this country, and we have therefore a poſitive proof of their exiſtence there. I cannot ſay, however, that they have been regularly brought. In ſome years not more than two or three, and in others little more than ſpecimens of them have been collected; no regular plan, as in other trades, having been yet eſtabliſhed there; nor would any ſuch plan be likely to be attended with ſucceſs, whilſt the *ſlave trade* engroſſes our attention.

Without mentioning the variety of drugs that might be brought from Africa, I ſhall immediately point out the advantages of having them from thence.

It is clear that all thoſe, which we obtain from Spaniſh America and the Brazils, are clogged with an expenſe, that would be avoided in having them from the other quarter. In the firſt place there is a double freightage, and in the ſecond, commiſſion, both of which would be ſaved were we to import them immediately from the coaſt. The importer too would procure them at a leſs rate from hence, than even from the Eaſt Indies or Turkey, which are the only remaining places, from which he collects them at preſent.

I come now to the peppers of Africa. The firſt, that was diſcovered or imported, was malaguetta, or grains of Paradiſe. This has now become an article of trade, and is regularly brought to us, either by the wood or ſlave veſſels, every year.

The ſecond was the long pepper. A few barrels of this have been occaſionally imported, but in ſuch ſmall quantities, as ſcarcely to deſerve notice.

The third was the black pepper. This was found to be of a greater pungency, and of a finer flavour than the Aſiatick. Two caſks of it were brought to England about ſix years ago: and this, I believe, was the only ſpecimen from the coaſt ever exhibited in this country.

The fourth was the cayenne. A captain of one of the wood veſſels procured a ſmall quantity of it, and brought it home in the year 1787.

I have hitherto mentioned ſuch of the African peppers, as being ſimilar to thoſe from other quarters now in uſe, are known by name. There was one, however, diſ-

covered about twenty years ago on the ſame coaſt, with the name of which not any perſon, to whom it was ſhewn, was at all acquainted. It was brought to Liverpool in a ſlave veſſel, and preſerved; and was of ſuch uncommon fragrance and flavour, as to have retained its qualities to the preſent day.

This account of the preceding articles, but particularly that of the latter, will give the reader an additional proof of the riches to be found in the African ſoil. He will ſee the great advantages, which would reſult from a trade in theſe alone. But he will never be able to eſtimate the loſs which we ſuſtain by the trade in *ſlaves*, which hinders the country from being farther explored, and thoſe inexhauſtible treaſures from coming forth, which are now buried and concealed.

The next article is that of ſpices.

The only ſpices, that have been yet found in Africa, are the caſſia or wild cinnamon, which is plentiful, and the nutmeg, of which a few ſolitary plants have been diſcovered. Theſe were moſtly in a wild and unimproved ſtate; but by proper care and attention, there is no doubt, but that they might be brought to as great perfection, as thoſe in any other place.

The Dutch ſupply us at preſent with theſe articles. They have become of late very exorbitant in their demands, and, were they ſtill to increaſe their prices, we ſhould be obliged to ſubmit, as they have a monopoly of this trade.

Were our attention turned to the encouragement of theſe articles upon the coaſt, it is clear that we might be the importers of our own ſpices, and break the monopoly of the Dutch.

The great advantages that would ariſe from having them from this quarter, ſhall immediately be pointed out. The difference in a voyage only from England to Africa and back, and from Holland to the Moluccas and back, is at leaſt ſixteen thouſand miles. The wages of ſeamen employed of courſe ſo much longer in this voyage than in the other, the greater conſumption of proviſions, and wear and tear of ſhips, clearly point out, that if the Dutch were to lower their preſent prices to one half, theſe articles would

would not come into our hands at ſo cheap a rate from thence, as thoſe which would be imported from Africa. Now if we add to this the conſiderations of double freightage, inſurance, and commiſſion, and that the ſpices of Africa would be cultivated by free men, whereas in the Moluccas they are cultivated by ſlaves, it is a matter capable of proof, that we ſhould import them from that continent for *one fifth* of their preſent price.

There is yet one circumſtance, of great importance, which ought never to be forgotten. We pay for the greateſt part of theſe articles at preſent *in money*. Were the trade alluded to eſtabliſhed in Africa, we ſhould pay for them in our *manufactures*.

SECTION III.

Among the other articles, which the African continent produces, are tobacco, rice, and indigo, each of which would form of itſelf a diſtinct and valuable branch of trade.

Tobacco is to be found in almoſt every diviſion of this continent in the greateſt luxuriance, and, from the peculiar richneſs of the ſoil, is ſuperior in quality to that which America produces.

Rice is to be found in moſt parts of Africa, but grows ſo luxuriantly on the grain coaſt in particular, that a ſupply might be drawn from thence ſufficient for all the markets of Europe. It is extraordinary, that this rice ſhould be finer in flavour, of a greater ſubſtance, more wholeſome and capable of preſervation, than the rice of any other country whatever, and that in every point of view, it ſhould be ſuperiour to the reſt.

Nor is the indigo of Africa, with which that continent abounds, leſs conſpicuous for its pre-eminence in colour. The blue is ſo much more beautiful and permanent than that which is extracted from the ſame plant in other parts, that many have been led to doubt, whether the African cloths, brought into this country, were dyed with indigo or not. They apprehended that the colour in theſe, which became more beautiful upon waſhing, muſt

have proceeded from another weed, or have been an extraction from ſome of the woods, which are celebrated for dying there. The matter, however, has been clearly aſcertained. A gentleman procured two or three of the balls which had been juſt prepared by the Africans for uſe. He brought them home, and, upon examination, found them to be the leaves of indigo rolled up, and in a very ſimple ſtate.

The reader may imagine by my account of the productions of Africa hitherto named, and by my ſtatement of their ſuperiority to others, that I have been rather dealing in fiction, than deſcribing their real ſtate. But it is well known that Africa poſſeſſes the moſt fertile ſoil of any in the globe: and I appeal to thoſe who have viſited this coaſt, and to ſome of the manufacturing towns in this kingdom, if my aſſertions are not ſtrictly true; if the rice of Africa is not beyond all others in point of flavour, ſubſtance, and capacity of preſervation; and if the indigo is not of that beautiful, permanent nature, as to have a title to the pre-eminence aſcribed.

I ſhall now obſerve, that the two firſt articles are obtained at preſent from America; the laſt in part from the ſame place, and in part from the Britiſh colonies, and thoſe of foreign nations.

This being premiſed, the advantages that would reſult from having them from Africa, will eaſily appear.

In the firſt place it is clear from the obſervations made, that all the three articles are at preſent produced by the labour of ſlaves. In Africa they would be produced by free men, a circumſtance, which would bring them into the hands of the merchant and manufacturer, cheaper by one third.

There are alſo additional circumſtances, peculiar to two of them, which would have the ſame tendency.

In America rice generally grows in ſwampy places, which are deſtructive to the health of the cultivators, all which cultivators are to be ſucceeded, if they periſh, at a great expenſe. There are plantations, however, which are ſituated upon drier land; but theſe are contiguous to the banks of rivers, and require to be occaſionally overflowed. For this purpoſe flood-gates are conſtructed, and,

and, below theſe, others of the ſame kind, that the water may be taken off at diſcretion: otherwiſe the crops would be inevitably deſtroyed. The conſtruction and repair of theſe muſt add conſiderably to the expenſe. The African rice, on the other hand, grows on the hilly parts, neither endangering the health of the cultivator, nor requiring any other moiſture or overflowing than the uſual rain.

Indigo alſo is prejudicial to the health of thoſe who manufacture it. This is occaſioned by the offenſiveneſs of the effluvia, which ariſes from it at that time. Now as theſe manufacturers are *ſlaves*, it is impoſſible that the proprietors of them can furniſh it at ſo cheap a rate, as thoſe who would employ *free* men, and who, in the caſe of the death of their labourers, could renew them without expenſe.

Another circumſtance, worthy of conſideration, is this, that a conſiderable portion of human life would be ſaved, not only becauſe free men would have contrivances, which are not ſo much as thought of for ſlaves, but becauſe the Africans have a method of preparing this article for uſe with but little detriment to their health; ſo that whether it were to be manufactured by ſlaves, or free men, it would come with the higheſt proſpect of gain from this quarter.

I muſt not forget to add, that where we obtain indigo from the coloniſts of foreign nations, there is a double freightage, inſurance, and commiſſion, all which would be ſaved, were the article to be brought to us from the coaſt.

With theſe advantages then in particular, and additionally with thoſe of free labour which have been ſtated, it is clear, that Africa would afford the cheapeſt market to the merchant and manufacturer, from whence they could derive the three articles deſcribed; and that the good effects of thus changing the place of export would, in proceſs of time, be ſo conſpicuous, as to give us reaſon to hope, that the nation would ſoon be reimburſed for the treaſures expended in the loſs of America.

If there is any other advantage to be apprehended from the change, it muſt be this:—Our trade with America, ſince the late peace, has been rather a detriment than a gain. In conſequence of the unprincipled conduct of

many of the Americans, the merchant here has been ruined, the manufacturer has ſhared his fate, and numbers have felt the ſhock. Under theſe diſadvantages, we muſt ſtill continue to trade with them, becauſe we want their commodities. From Africa we might derive the ſame articles, but in greater perfection, and with no riſk. The merchant would receive for his goods a cargo, more valuable than that which he ſent there, and would of courſe have no neceſſity to give credit, or to be uneaſy, as in the preſent poſture of affairs, about remittances for his debts.

SECTION IV.

Though I have already mentioned many valuable productions of the coaſt, others ſtill remain to be ſpoken of. Upon theſe, however, I ſhall not expatiate, except upon cotton, an article of too much importance to this country to be mentioned in general terms.

That the reader may form a notion of this importance, I ſhall inform him that twenty millions of pounds were brought into Great Britain for the uſe of our manufacturers in the year 1786. I ſhall inform him alſo that two pounds of cotton, which coſt the manufacturer ſix ſhillings, are worth, when manufactured into muſlin, about five pounds in the groſs. What a prodigious advantage to this country, that ſo ſmall a portion of this article ſhould give birth to ſo much labour and profit as is equivalent to the ſum now ſpecified!

Cotton is to be found in almoſt every diviſion of the coaſt of Africa. It is moſtly in a wild and uncultivated ſtate. The natives, however, collect it for their own uſe, and work it up into thoſe beautiful cloths, which are in ſuch eſtimation for their ſoft and ſilky appearance. A few pounds of it have been occaſionly brought into England in the ſtate deſcribed. Nevertheleſs, they have claimed the preference at our markets, and have fetched their price.

To ſhew the value of this article from the coaſt, I ſhall ſtate the rank which the cotton of different countries holds with the manufacturers of the preſent day, who have

ſeen

ſeen ſpecimens of it from almoſt every place, where it can be produced.

It is a curious circumſtance, but it has been eſtabliſhed by the experience of many years, that continents produce the fineſt cotton, and that the larger the iſlands, and of courſe the nearer they approximate to continents, the finer is the cotton there. In the firſt claſs is reckoned the Perſian and African. In the ſecond that from the Brazils, Siam, and Surinam. In the third that from St. Domingo; and in the fourth that from the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands.

From this account the advantage of having cotton from Africa, from whence we derive little more than ſpecimens at preſent, muſt appear. It is of the utmoſt importance to the manufacturers of muſlin that their cotton ſhould be *fine*. Their complaint is, that the very fineſt of that, which they get from the preſent market, is not equal to their wiſhes. Could the Perſian or African be obtained, they would eſteem them an invaluable treaſure.

But though the fine quality of the African cotton would render the importation of it ſo deſirable to our manufacturers, yet the eaſy rate at which it could be procured, would be an object of great magnitude.

As the chief part of the cotton brought to us at preſent, comes from the colonies of other nations, I ſhall name one of theſe to ſhew the difference of the expenſe at which it could be brought from thence and from the other quarter.

The cotton, which we have from the Brazils, is firſt ſhipped for Portugal, where it is unloaded, and kept for ſale. A part of it is then reſhipped, on demand, and brought here.

In this caſe it is clear, that double freightage, double inſurance, and commiſſion, are to be charged upon it.

In the ſecond place it pays on exportation from Portugal a duty of five per cent.

In the third it is cultivated by ſlaves.

Theſe circumſtances are of ſuch importance, that, in making the eſtimate, it appears that the Britiſh merchant could obtain as much cotton from Africa for fifty-ſeven pounds, as he procures at preſent for an hundred from the colony now mentioned.

In making this eſtimate, it is clear, that I have not ſelected a place that would be the moſt favourable to my deſign: for the cotton that comes to us by the way of France, is not only chargeable with the ſame kind of expenſes, but, inſtead of *five*, pays *twelve* per cent. on exportation.

I cannot cloſe * my account of this article, without mentioning that cotton, crimſon in the pod, is to be found in Africa. It grows principally in the Eyeo country, and is to be ſeen in many of the Whidah cloths. A ſmall ſpecimen of it was brought home in the year 1786.

The value of this cotton would be great both to the importer, and manufacturer of muſlins. The former would immediately receive eight ſhillings for a pound of it, and the latter would gain conſiderably more by his ingenuity and taſte. He might work it up into the white cotton in delicate ſpots and figures, and as both would be of their natural colour, no inconvenience would ariſe from waſhing.

The diſcovery of this article affords an additional proof of the numberleſs treaſures of the African ſoil, and gives us reaſon to expect, that, if that continent were explored, we ſhould find ſuch curious and valuable productions, as, if related at preſent, would almoſt be beyond our belief.

SECTION V.

If the reader were to be aſked, what he could collect from the preceding ſections, (allowing the different ſtatements to be true) he would ſay, that Africa abounded with many valuable commodities; that it would be much more to our intereſt to deal in theſe, than in ſlaves; that the ſlave trade had been hitherto an inſuperable impediment to the introduction of a new commerce in the commodities deſcribed; and that an opportunity would preſent itſelf of

* Beſides the natural productions already named, are to be reckoned ſilver, wool, ſkins, vermillion, quickſilver, muſk, ſilk graſs, capſicum, the ſugar cane, the doom-wood, (which the worm never enters) and a variety of other articles, upon which I have no time to expatiate.

repaying

repaying us for the loſs of America, were it once aboliſhed. Theſe with other inferences he would immediately deduce.

Though theſe concluſions are ſo ſtrictly to be drawn from the facts laid down, yet it would be unpardonable to withhold the ſentiments of a perſon on this occaſion, from whom they muſt receive ſuch additional weight.

It is remarkable, that the late Mr. Poſtlethwayt, the celebrated author of the dictionary on trade and commerce, ſhould, in a pamphlet which he publiſhed in the year 1748, not only endeavour to ſhew the *policy* of the ſlave trade, but attempt its *juſtification*; and that the ſame perſon having afterwards made commerce his peculiar ſtudy, and being enabled to judge better of the nature of this trade, from having been a member of the African Committee, ſhould totally alter his ſentiments both with reſpect to the policy and juſtice of it.

In his dictionary, which was a ſubſequent publication to that before mentioned, he ſtates, that in Africa are to be procured gold, ſilver, copper, corn, rice, gums, ivory, cotton, wax, civet, oſtrich feathers, dying woods, and other valuable commodities.

Among the queſtions, which he afterwards ſtates, I ſelect the following.

"Whether it would not be *more to the intereſt* of all "the European nations, concerned in the trade to Africa, "rather to endeavour to cultivate a friendly, humane, and "civilized commerce with thoſe people into the very "centre of their extended country, than to content themſelves only with ſkimming a trifling portion of trade on "the ſea coaſts?"

"Whether *the greateſt hindrance and obſtruction* to the "Europeans cultivating an humane and Chriſtian-like "commerce with thoſe populous countries has not *wholly* "proceeded from that *unjuſt*, *inhuman*, and *unchriſtian-like* "*traffick*, called the *ſlave trade*, which is carried on by the "Europeans?"

There are ſcarce any productions, he adds, "in all "our Britiſh American poſſeſſions, but might be cultivated on the continent of Africa; and if ever we "ſhould be unhappy enough to *be diſpoſſeſſed of them*, "our

" our trade in this part of the world might contribute to " *make us compenſation.*"

Having ſtated theſe circumſtances, only by way of confirmation, I ſhall immediately recur to the queſtion, as ſtated in the early part of the preſent chapter, and decide upon it accordingly.

It was ſaid there, that Africa had two ſorts of commodities to offer us,—her natural productions—and her ſlaves; and that the queſtion was in which of the two, conſidered abſtractedly by themſelves, it would be moſt *politick* to deal?

The former have already been ſtated, and it appears that, viewed as they have been in this abſtracted light, they would afford an inexhauſtible mine of wealth to our dyers and artificers in wood; that they would enable us to break the monopoly of the Dutch; would repay us for the loſs of America; be the cheapeſt market for all ſorts of raw materials for our manufacturers; and abound with other national advantages.

The latter are now to be balanced againſt theſe, as articles of commerce: Will any perſon come forward and ſay, that, conſidered in the ſame abſtracted light, they are productive of *one* national advantage? The moſt that he can ſay, will be, that they are of benefit but to a few *individuals*, and thoſe ſo infinitely few, when compared with thoſe who would be benefited and enriched by the former, that he would be aſhamed of the compariſon.

If the ſlave trade then, when ſtripped of its appendages, is attended with no emolument to the *publick*; if, moreover, it *hinders* the introduction of one, to which, if it were compared in the ſame light, it would be like an *iſland* to a *continent*, or a *river* to a *ſea*, it is ſurely, of all others, the moſt *impolitick* trade that this country can carry on.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

SECTION I.

Having made an inquiry, in the preceding chapter, whether it would be more to the benefit of the *publick* to trade in the natural productions of the country, or in ſlaves, I ſhall now inquire which of the two would be of greater emolument to *individuals*; for this argument has been alſo ſtarted, and the *policy* has been inferred from the *profits* of the trade?

There are two or three criterions, by which a valuable trade may be aſcertained. Theſe are little riſque, quick returns, and a large profit. To this ſtandard then I ſhall refer the trade in ſlaves.

There was never, perhaps, a trade more diſadvantageous, in the firſt inſtance, than that which I am now conſidering. The competition upon the coaſt is at preſent great, and the goods which a veſſel takes for the purchaſe of a certain number of ſlaves, may not, from this circumſtance, be adequate to the purchaſe of *three-fourths* of the rated number: ſo that the merchant, in the firſt place, may buy them dearer than his calculations, and find an immediate and conſiderable diminution of his profit, if not the certainty of a loſs.

Another circumſtance, and the moſt important of all that renders this commerce peculiarly hazardous, is the mortality that may ariſe among the ſlaves, both during their ſtay upon the coaſt, and the middle paſſage. If they are treated ever ſo well, if every attention is paid to their convenience, or their wants, it is often impoſſible to prevent it; or to ſay, when it begins, where it is likely to end, or in what proportion they will be loſt: and that ſome veſſels have loſt more than two-thirds of their ſlaves, the annals of Liverpool will evince.

A third circumſtance is this, that when they arrive in the Weſt-Indies, the markets may have been glutted, or ſuch a number of ſhips may be there at the ſame time, that they muſt either beat about to the different iſlands, and loſe more of them by ſickneſs, or ſell them lower than

than the average rate, calculated at the beginning of the voyage.

A fourth is the length of the date, before the bills, in which they are paid for, become due.—Theſe bills are drawn at twelve, eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-ſix months after ſight. They give time of courſe for many diſagreeable circumſtances to intervene. Add to this, that they are ſometimes returned for want of payment, even when this period has elapſed.

This being the caſe, it is clear, that there are four circumſtances, concomitant on this trade, that conſpire to render it of all others the moſt *hazardous*. Theſe have occaſioned it to be juſtly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of a *lottery*. Upon this principle, moſt of its promoters have embarked in it; ſome to be rich on a ſudden, others, on their laſt legs, to retrieve their affairs by one fortunate voyage. This is the only light, in which it is to be viewed with propriety; for they who embark in it are as much adventurers as thoſe, who, to anſwer the ſame end, have recourſe to the *games of chance*.

With reſpect to a quick return, which is the very life of commerce, no trade was ever ſo diſadvantageous, as that in ſlaves. The average time of a voyage is one year. At the expiration of this period, the veſſel returns. On inſpecting the bills which are brought home, and which have been received for the ſlaves, it appears, that they are not payable, on an average, till two years after ſight. The merchant, therefore, cannot enjoy the profits of his voyage till three years after he has ſent his veſſel to the coaſt.

In the interim he is called upon to pay for the goods, which he has ſhipped. In ſix months his bill for ſpirits is brought him, though, in one of our ports, it muſt be paid for on delivery. In fourteen he muſt account for his Eaſt-Indian aſſortments, and in eighteen for thoſe of Manchester and Birmingham; ſo that he muſt pay for the whole of his cargo a year and an half before he can derive any benefit from his returns. This occaſions him often to be ſo diſtreſſed, that the manufacturer is put off. A credit of ſix months longer is ſolicited. To hear the pitiful

pitiful tales he tells, and the wretched excuſes he makes, on theſe occaſions, is truly diſguſting. This is ſurely not a trade for the manufacturers of Great Britain; and that I have been deſcribing the real ſituation of things, is but too well known to thoſe who have felt it.

With reſpect to the real profit of the trade, I might appeal to thoſe particular ſhips, with an account of whoſe voyages I have been favoured. Two of them, after having made three voyages each, which took up the ſpace of five years, left their owners in debt, and obliged them to relinquiſh the trade. Another cleared the ſum of four thouſand pounds; but the ſame ſhip, in her next voyage, loſt more than ſhe had gained in the preceding. Another gained fifty per cent. but her ſucceſs was undone by a ſecond, which went out at the ſame time and in the ſame employ, and loſt in the ſame proportion. Theſe inſtances however, being few, I ſhall lay no ſtreſs upon them, but recur to general facts.

The great African company, which was veſted with extraordinary powers, and which had every opportunity of feeling the emoluments of the trade, *failed twice*.

From the year 1763 to the year 1772 the London merchants avoided all kind of connection with thoſe of Liverpool in this trade, from a conviction that, during that time, it had not been proſecuted but with loſs.

The ſame caution continued till the year 1778; for within that ſmall ſpace of time, comprizing only the term of ſix years, the ſlave merchants there failed for the ſum of *ſeven hundred and ten thouſand pounds*, and the conſequent bankruptcies were many.

During the American war, while the price of a ſlave was as low as ſeven pounds on the coaſt, and as high, on an average, as forty-five in the colonies, the adventurer, who eſcaped the ſhips of the enemy, made his fortune. But ſince the peace, the trade has returned to its former ſtate; and it is conſidered as a fact, at the ports where it is carried on, that it is a *loſing* trade at the preſent day: that is, if the diſburſements and returns of all the veſſels, that go out in one year, were to be conſolidated on their arrival home, and compared, the former would be greater than

than the latter, and there would of courſe be a deficiency, or balance againſt the ſum total of the adventurers in this trade.

But it will be ſaid, if it be an *unprofitable* trade, why do people embark in it, or how does it happen, that many can be pointed out, who have made their fortunes there?

I reply, that the ſlave trade is a *lottery*, as I obſerved before, and that upon this principle the phenomenon may be ſatisfactorily explained.

It is evident firſt, that if a perſon were to become the proprietor of all the tickets in the wheel, the balance would be greatly againſt him. So alſo, were he to be the proprietor of all the ſhips in the ſlave trade, he would experience a conſiderable loſs, as his diſburſements would be then greater than his returns.

It is clear alſo, that there are many valuable *prizes* in the lottery, but more blanks. So it is with this trade. A few merchants have made their fortunes, but more have been loſers by it. A few will ſtill continue to make them, but many will be ruined.

But how come they to engage in it? I reply, why do people engage in the *games of chance?* In ſhort, in no other light can the ſlave trade be viewed, than in that deſcribed: and, the things compared being both of the ſame kind, any difficulty that occurs in the one, may be ſolved by referring it to the other.

SECTION II.

Having taken a general view of the value of the ſlave trade, by referring it to the three characteriſticks, which may be called a ſtandard for commercial eſtimation, I ſhall put the commerce in the productions of the coaſt under the ſame trial.

It is clear, in the firſt place, that this commerce would not be equally hazardous with the former; rice, indigo, tobacco, ſpices, and other productions of Africa not being *periſhable* commodities, like ſlaves.

In the ſecond place, the merchant would receive his returns in five months, inſtead of three years, from the ſailing

ſailing of his veſſel; and he would be able to turn them into ſpecie before he had advanced a ſhilling to, or had had a demand from, the manufacturer whom he had employed. Nor would the latter be leſs benefited by the change, as no longer credit would be neceſſary, than that of eight months. Thus a quick circulation of money would take place, and the countenance, inſtead of exhibiting marks of uneaſineſs and diſtreſs, would be cheered with joy.

In the third place, the merchant in this trade would ſet out with two advantages over the merchant in the other. His inſurance would be conſiderably leſs, and, requiring from the manufacturer a credit only of eight months, he would ſave five per cent. on all the goods which he ſhipped; or in other words, on account of the diſcount allowed him, he would carry the ſame quantity of goods for *ninety-five* pounds to the ſame coaſt, which the ſlave merchant cannot carry, in the preſent ſituation of things, but for an *hundred*.

As to the real profit which he would have on the articles brought home, ſome hints have been given in the preceding chapter. For bringing them to a market, where, thoſe of the ſame kind, which come, are chargeable with a double freightage, commiſſion, and the labour of ſlaves, his profits muſt be immenſe.

If the compariſon is to be extended farther, I may add, that while the veſſel of the ſlave merchant is performing one voyage, that of the other would perform two: ſo that if the ſlave trade were highly profitable, and one voyage in that line were twice more advantageous than one in the other, they would be reduced to an equality by this circumſtance alone.

If then it appears, by referring the two trades to the ſame ſtandard, that the trade in the natural productions of the country would be more valuable to individuals, (and its benefits more extenſively felt) than the trade in ſlaves, an additional argument preſents itſelf againſt the *policy* of the latter, ſince it is not only hazardous, ſlow in its returns, and in the aggregate unprofitable, but hinders the introduction of one, which would be attended with the *oppoſite effects*.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Before I proceed, I muſt pauſe for a little time, to take notice of an argument, which may have already ſuggeſted itſelf to the reader, and which, if it does not meet with a replication here, may be conſidered as rendering the whole of my former obſervations of no effect.

It is ſaid, and it is ſtrongly inſiſted upon by the advocates for the trade in ſlaves, that it is *politick*, becauſe it engroſſes the attention of the Africans, and hinders them from cultivating ſuch of the productions of their own ſoil, as would interfere with thoſe of *our own colonies*.

Now, if this would actually be the caſe, if the productions of Africa, mentioned in the firſt chapter, would claſh with thoſe of our kindred ſtates, it would be highly improper, in the eye of the *politician*, to introduce the other trade, however valuable it might appear. I ſay *in the eye of the politician*, becauſe his argument with the *moraliſt* is exactly this:—"I have a field ſown with a particular grain, which yields me ſome advantages.—Another perſon has unfortunately the ſame kind of grain in his poſſeſſion. If *he* ſows it, his productions will claſh with mine. I muſt therefore procure him to be kidnapped, or I muſt excite diſſenſions in his family, that will keep him engaged, or ſend him out of the way."

However, as it is termed a good political argument, and as it might tend to ſet aſide the obſervations made in the preceding chapters, I feel myſelf called upon to reply to it in the preſent place.

With reſpect to the woods of Africa, it is probable that the article of mahogany, if imported from that quarter, would claſh in ſome meaſure with that which would be brought from the Bay of Honduras. When I have allowed this, I may take upon me to ſay, that there is no other article from the coaſt, which would interfere with thoſe produced in our own colonies.

It is certain that thoſe for dying, and moſt of thoſe for cabinet and other work, would not be liable to the objection, becauſe there are no woods, as yet diſcovered on

on the face of the globe, that are of the ſame properties or kind.

The drugs, which we procure at preſent, are imported from the following places, viz. the Britiſh Eaſt Indies, Turkey, the Brazils through the medium of Portugal, and South America, through that of Spain.

It is unneceſſary to make any farther ſtatement than this, as there are three places out of four, from whence we derive them, that are *foreign*.

The next article of the new commerce would be that of Spices. All theſe are at preſent monopolized by the Dutch.

The tobacco which we import, is principally obtained from two places, Virginia and Maryland. Theſe, by the late revolution, are *foreign* ſtates. A ſmall quantity is, however, cultivated in the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, but this is generally for plantation uſe, and if we except a few hogſheads brought to us from St. Vincents, it may be ſaid that this article, if produced in Africa, would not *at all* interfere with the productions of our preſent colonies.

With reſpect to rice a few words will be ſufficient. It is brought to us from Carolina and Georgia, and in ſuch a proportion, that ninety-nine parts in an hundred come to us from thoſe ſtates.

The indigo, which is imported into this country, is procured from the Britiſh Eaſt Indies, the Britiſh Weſt Indies, Carolina, and Georgia, the French Weſt Indies by the way of France, the Brazils by the way of Portugal, and South America by the way of Spain. The quantity annually imported from them all is about 1,350,000 pounds, of which about 1000,000 or more than five-ſevenths are the produce of *foreign* ſtates.

The cotton, which we have obtained for ſome time, has been cultivated in the Britiſh and French Weſt Indies, the Dutch Eaſt Indian ſettlements, Turkey, and the Brazils. The whole quantity imported in the year 1786, was 20,000,000 pounds. That from the Britiſh colonies 5,157,698. So that we are under the neceſſity of procuring 14,842,302 pounds, or nearly three-fourths annually from *foreigners*.

This ſtatement, which is as accurate as any that can be obtained, ſhews to us the fallacy of the argument; and that we are ſo far from being likely to interfere with the coloniſts of our own, as in fact to give a blow to thoſe of our *rival* ſtates. Indeed, the argument is of an early date, and firſt made its appearance while America was our own. It was certain, at that period, that by keeping the Africans engaged in the trade in ſlaves, we hindered them from producing ſuch of their own commodities, as would have greatly interfered with thoſe of our *then* colonies. The inconſiderate, however, who have not attended to the late revolution there, have been bold enough to retain it, though nothing is more certain than that (the Americans being now aliens, and other circumſtances being taken into conſideration) it becomes a matter of policy to have them from another quarter.

Indeed, among the various events, that ſeem for ſome time to have been haſtening on, and working together for the abolition of the ſlave trade, none appears to be of greater importance in this reſpect than the revolution before mentioned. As long as America was our own, there was no chance that a miniſter would have attended to the groans of the ſons and daughters of Africa, however he might have felt for their diſtreſs. From the ſame ſpot, which was thus once the means of creating an inſuperable impediment to the relief of theſe unfortunate people, our affection, by a wonderful concatenation of events, has been taken off, and a proſpect has been preſented to our view, which ſhews it to be *policy* to remove their pain.

CHAP. IV.

SECTION I.

Having now provided againſt an obſtacle which might have been thrown into my way, I ſhall proceed.

In the firſt and ſecond chapters I conſidered the trade in *ſlaves* in an abſtracted light, that I might balance it both *nationally* and *individually*, againſt that in the productions of the coaſt, as well as anſwer certain arguments uſually

uſually advanced in its defence. But as this trade has ſome *appendages*, and as theſe appendages are ſaid to be of the higheſt importance to the ſtate, I ſhould be an unjuſt arbiter of the caſe, if I did not take them into conſideration.

The advocates for the ſlave trade earneſtly contend, that it is a *nurſery for our ſeamen*. Upon no one argument have they declaimed with greater exultation than upon this; well knowing that our ſeamen are the pillars of the ſtate, and that every trade, which conduces to rear and ſupport them, it muſt be highly politic to continue, and highly dangerous to ſuppreſs.

Before I enter into the important argument advanced, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a hiſtory of the ſeamen employed in this trade; not only becauſe ſuch an hiſtory ought to be preſented to his view, but becauſe it will enable him to judge of the truth of certain poſitions, to be mentioned in a future chapter.

To begin: The wages, which able ſeamen receive in this trade, are from thirty to forty ſhillings per month. They have alſo two months advance-money, and their employers do not ſtand upon character.

In other trades they receive from thirty to thirty-five ſhillings per month, have but one month's advance-money, and will ſeldom, like other ſervants, be taken but with a character from their former maſters.

The firſt idea, that muſt ſuggeſt itſelf to the reader from this comparative view, will be this, that it muſt be a difficult matter to procure ſeamen for this trade, or ſuch extraordinary temptations would not be held out to them to embark. This is literally the fact: for theſe are as certain criterions of the difficulty which I intended ſhould be ſurmiſed, as the price of inſurance is of the hazard of a voyage, or as any other eſtabliſhed marks of diſcrimination in any other caſe.

The difficulty of procuring ſeamen for the ſlave trade is well known at the ports where it is carried on, though the advocates for it have aſſerted the contrary to thoſe, whom they knew to have had no opportunity of inquiring into the fact.

At one port in particular they have gone ſo far as to advance, that they have as many offers for making up the complements of their ſhips as they can accept. But they conceal the *time* and *occaſion* of theſe proffered ſervices. When the ſhips from Greenland and the Weſt-Indies arrive and diſcharge their crews, the former of which put twelve hundred ſeamen adrift nearly at the ſame time, the ſlave veſſels, then in port, find but little difficulty in procuring hands. But what inference can be drawn from hence? Not ſurely a partiality for the trade, but that many are thrown out of employ, whom neceſſity compels to embark.

On the other hand, when the ſame ſhips are refitting in the ſpring of the year, the matter is totally reverſed. The ſlave-merchant is in the greateſt diſtreſs for a crew. He offers even three months advance-money; but this has but little weight; and few ſeamen would ever voluntarily embark with him on any terms, ſo long as a ſhip of any other deſcription was fitting out, and was in want of hands.

This is the true criterion, by which a judgment is to be formed in the preſent caſe, and if added to the three circumſtances before mentioned, which are eſtabliſhed rules of commercial regulation, will prove an inſuperable argument againſt the aſſertions uſually advanced by the patrons of this trade.

The ſeamen then, now under conſideration, except at the time ſpecified, are obtained in the following ways:

It has been cuſtomary to allure them into the ſervice under the promiſe of making them mates. When they come on board, they act as officers of the ſhip; but ſoon after they have been at ſea, they are degraded on a pretended charge of neglect. By theſe inſidious means ſeveral foremaſt men have been annually obtained for the voyage.

But the great bulk of them are procured thus. There are certain landlords, who, allured by the high wages given them in this trade, the advance-money of two months, and the promiſes of the merchant, open houſes for their reception. Theſe, having a general knowledge

knowledge of the ſhips and ſeamen in the port, and being always on the look out, intice ſuch as are more unwary or in greater diſtreſs than the reſt into their houſes. They entertain them with muſick and dancing, and keep them in an intoxicated ſtate for ſome time. In the interim the ſlave merchant comes, and makes his application. The unfortunate men are ſingled out; are perhaps taken from a dance. Their bill is immediately brought them. They are *ſaid* to be more in debt, than even two months advance-money will diſcharge. They have therefore an offer made them, a *ſlave-veſſel—or a goal.*

The former being accepted, the landlord, beſides a gratuity, receives a promiſſory note for the ſum equal to their advance-money from the merchant, and, like ſlaves, delivers them to the veſſel.

Thus put on board, and ſenſible of the mean and ungenerous advantages that have been taken of their unwarineſs and neceſſity, their * diſlike to the ſervice is only heightened, and they do not fail to exhibit proofs of it in the following manner.

In a certain month of the laſt year, four ſlave veſſels were waiting for their men. The firſt, in conſequence of the exertions before mentioned, had received a certain number; but they no ſooner found an opportunity of eſcaping, than all of them left her, and on the ſame day.

In the ſecond were ſeven, that had been procured in the ſame manner. Theſe, ſoon afterwards, in ſpite of all oppoſition, forced themſelves into the boat, and came on ſhore.

The third had ſcarcely completed her complement, when twenty-five of the people had left her at once, and twenty followed them on the next day.

By this time the firſt had again completed her crew: but ſo fearful was the merchant that theſe alſo would make

* I do not mean any diſlike to the trade, becauſe they conſider it to be iniquitous, but becauſe the cruel treatment of ſeamen in this trade is notorious, of which the reader will ſee ſome ſpecimens hereafter. I have known a landlord, who opened his houſe for the reception of Weſt India ſeamen, on an application from a ſlave merchant for men, refuſe him ſolely from the motive that he ſhould affront all who that lodged with him, were he barely to propoſe it to their conſideration.

their eſcape, that the ſhip was immediately hurried to ſea, though the weather was much againſt her. How they bore ſo ſudden and ſo abrupt a departure, I cannot poſitively affirm; but, if the pilot is to credited, there was nothing but diſſatisfaction and murmur on board, while he was taking them out of the channel.

From the fourth two of the crew, ſeeing no other opportunity of getting away, leapt overboard in the night, though the ſhip was at that time more than a mile from the ſhore.

It is unneceſſary to make any comments upon theſe inſtances. I ſhall therefore only add, that, except in this trade, they ſeldom or ever happen, and that ſeamen *offer* their ſervices, in other trades.

SECTION II.

While the crew are collecting in the manner above deſcribed, the articles of agreement are prepared. Theſe articles ſtate the nature and circumſtances of the engagements of the ſeamen on board the veſſel, and are to be ſigned by them before their departure from the native ſhore.

Some of theſe articles are too iniquitous to be omitted, I ſhall therefore give the reader an extract of one of them in my poſſeſſion.

The firſt clauſe is, "That the crew ſhall conform and "demean themſelves in every reſpect according to the late "act of parliament for the better regulation of ſeamen in "his *Majeſty's* ſervice." This artful ſubſtitution of the word *Majeſty's* for *Merchant's*, when ſubſcribed to, gives the officers, in their own opinion, a power of inflicting ſevere puniſhment upon their men, and of gratifying their ſavage diſpoſition.

The ſecond is, "That one half of their wages is to be "paid them in the Weſt Indies or America, in the cur-"rency or proclamation money there." This clauſe is equally artful with the former: for though the merchant holds out to them the bait of *greater* wages nominally, he gives them intrinſically *leſs* than in other trades.

In

In the third it is ſtipulated, " that if they ſhould die upon the coaſt, their executors ſhall receive the wages due to them at that time, in the current money of the place, at which the ſhip diſpoſes of her ſlaves."

The fourth is, " That if they ſhall commence any action either at common law or at a court of admiralty, either on account of any thing in theſe preſents contained, or on account of any other matter whatſoever that may happen during the voyage, without firſt referring it to the arbitration of the officers or owners within twenty days after their arrival at the port of diſcharge, they ſhall forfeit fifty pounds."

This, added to the firſt clauſe, arms the officers completely, and gives them ſcope, as they imagine, to practiſe any barbarities, which they may pleaſe to inflict upon their crew.

Theſe articles being prepared for their ſignature, they are called up. This is generally done when the ſhip is weighing her anchor, or at ſome time when they are about to be buſily employed. A neceſſity for expedition is pleaded: and they ſign without ever ſeeing, or being permitted to ſee, the nature of the engagements which they are making. The articles are folded up in a curious manner for this purpoſe; and ſome, who have been more wary than the reſt, and have perſiſted in the reſolution of ſeeing, before they ſigned them, have been known to be put on ſhore.

If I am to ſhew the iniquity of theſe meaſures in a ſtronger light, it muſt be by comparing them with the practice in other trades.

The articles, now the objects of compariſon, are * *printed*. They are either read, or left open to the inſpection of the ſeamen before they ſign. The crews, that embark to the *very ſame coaſt* for wood, know nothing of current money, nor of the clauſes before mentioned. The Weſt-India ſeamen, who meet at the ſame port with thoſe in the ſlave-veſſels, and where currency is in force, are not obliged to take the half of their wages there. In ſhort,

* I muſt do juſtice to ſome of the merchants of Liverpool, who make uſe of printed articles, and omit the firſt and fourth clauſes.

whether we view the arts and practices in this trade, either independently of themſelves, or by compariſon, they equally excite our deteſtation and diſguſt.

SECTION III.

The articles of agreement being ſigned, they proceed to ſea. From the port of Briſtol, as ſoon as they have paſſed the Iſland of Lundy, and from the port of Liverpool, as ſoon as they have cleared the Black Rock, the officers generally order an inſtrument to be made, called a *cat*, which is alleged to be prepared for the puniſhment of the ſlaves. The handle of it is a rope of three inches and a half in circumference, and it has nine tails attached to it of knotted cord. This inſtrument cannot legally be uſed on board any other but one of his Majeſty's ſhips, and in other trades, except the *Eaſt Indian*, is unknown.

From this period till their arrival upon the coaſt, they begin to uſe it upon the ſeamen, though at firſt with moderation, or only ſo as to prepare the way for the ſeverities that are to follow. In a certain time, however, they apply it without reſerve. But here a tragedy commences, of which the reader can have no conception, but which however muſt be ſubmitted to his view.

I am ſenſible, that if I were to talk in general terms of the cruelties exerciſed upon the ſeamen in this trade, I ſhould have but little attention paid to my narration by the publick, nor would they have that idea of them, which it is the duty of every perſon, acquainted with the facts, to communicate. I ſhall therefore wave all general aſſertions, and confine myſelf for the preſent to the occurrences in one ſhip.

A MUSTER

* A MUSTER ROLL for the Ship ——, from Africa and the Weſt-Indies.

Men's names.	When and where entered into pay.	When and where diſcharged, killed, dead, deſerted, &c.	Time each man ſerved.
1. —	—	—	—
2. —	—	—	—
3. —	—	—	—
4. —	—	—	—
5. —	—	—	—
6. —	—	—	—
7. —	—	—	—
8. —	—	—	—
9. —	—	—	—
10. —	—	—	—
11. —	—	—	—
12. —	—	—	—
13. —	—	—	—
14. —	—	—	—
15. —	—	—	—
16. —	—	—	—
17. —	—	—	—
18. —	—	—	—
19. —	—	—	—
20. —	—	—	—
21. —	—	—	—
22. —	—	—	—
23. —	—	—	—
24. —	—	—	—
25, &c. &c.	—	—	—

* The three contained in the laſt bracket, do not ſtand as in the original muſter roll, but are put together for the ſake of elucidating the caſe.

The

The captain of this veſſel began, as uſual, to practiſe his barbarities a little before his arrival upon the coaſt. He took the opportunity of beating his crew repeatedly, and for imaginary faults. He had alſo on board a large dog, which he was accuſtomed to ſet upon the men for his diverſion; at the ſame time ſwearing, that if any of the crew ſhould attempt to take off the dog on any ſuch occaſion, he would ſhoot him for the attempt.

The treatment, which was thus begun, was continued upon the coaſt, and in ſuch a licentious degree, as to become inſupportable, and to alarm the ſeamen for the ſafety of their lives.

The eleven contained in the firſt bracket having been cruelly uſed, and ſeeing no hopes of a termination to their ſufferings ſo long as they ſtaid there, came to the reſolution of deſerting; chuſing rather to truſt to an inhoſpitable climate, and an uncivilized people upon the ſhore, than to ſtay on board their own veſſel. They accordingly cut their way through the netting in the night. They ſeized the long boat, erected an oar for a maſt, and a hammock for a ſail; and, thus provided, they took their final departure from the ſhip.

It was but a ſhort time before they dropped down the river, where the veſſel lay. They then coaſted along to make for a certain place, but were driven beyond it before they could get to land. To cut their ſtory ſhort: Eight of them, after experiencing many hardſhips, died. The other three were taken in by a veſſel bound to the colonies with ſlaves. One of them died on the middle paſſage. The remaining two, in proceſs of time, came home, but in ſo weak and impaired a ſtate, that their recovery was long doubtful; for one had additionally to ſtruggle with two large holes in his ſhoulder, which the dog, before mentioned, had torn at the inſtigation of his maſter.

This was the firſt effect of the barbarous uſage on board the veſſel, whoſe muſter roll has been cited. I ſhall now continue my account.

The three, incloſed in the next bracket, were a part of the complement of a ſlave veſſel, which had upſet upon the coaſt, and who had eſcaped to this ſhip. They had been

been but a ſhort time on board, before they experienced the ſame treatment as the reſt of the crew.

The firſt of them was uſed in the following manner. In lowering down the awning one evening, the captain ſwore that he had ſuffered it to touch a boat, which he had amuſed himſelf in painting the ſame day; though no mark was viſible, by which it could be traced that the awning had ever touched at all. For this imaginary fault he knocked him down, and then jumped upon his breaſt. He afterwards beat him in a moſt inhuman manner with a rope three inches and a half in circumference. The poor man, in conſequence of this treatment, became ill, and complained to the ſurgeon and ſurgeon's mate of the pain which he then felt. The captain, however, happened to overhear his complaint, when he immediately ordered him to go forward, or he would repeat his former treatment, commanding the ſurgeon's mate, at the ſame time, not to adminiſter to him any relief, under the penalty of being ſerved in the ſame manner.

The ſurgeon, however, and his mate, privately viſited the ſick man in the night, by means of a dark lanthorn, and gave him every aſſiſtance in their power. They found ſeveral contuſions on his neck, back, breaſt, and arms, which were ſo bad as to occaſion him to ſpit blood, and to void the ſame by ſtool. This afterwards turned into a dyſentery or flux, and on the ſeventh of the month of ——— the unfortunate man died.

It may not be amiſs to add, that the dying man repeatedly thanked the ſurgeon for his tenderneſs and care, and that he repeatedly told him, that the captain had been the occaſion of his death, generally adding, at the ſame time, that "he could not puniſh him, but that God would."

The other two were alſo treated in an unmerciful manner. One of them, on his arrival in the Weſt Indies, died. The other had the good fortune to get to his native home.

The firſt of the two, contained in the third bracket, was the ſurgeon's mate of the veſſel. On a certain day, being on ſhore with ſome ſick ſlaves, he was beaten ſo unmercifully by the captain, as to be taken up inſenſible. The brute, not ſatisfied with this, puſhed the ſtick of his umbrella

umbrella againſt his belly as he was lying upon the ground, and with ſuch force, as to cauſe a moſt violent pain for ſome days: the only reaſon alledged for this treatment was, that four ſlaves had died of the flux the preceding night.

On the ſixteenth day of the next month, he vented his fury again on the ſame perſon, and with as little cauſe; for coming out of his cabin, and finding a girl ſlave dead, whoſe death had not been reported to him before dinner, he immediately ſeized him, and knocked him down. He then jumped upon his breaſt. He afterwards beat him in a cruel manner with the but end of the cat, which I mentioned before to be a rope of three inches and a half in circumference, ſo that on the next day his head was found to be much ſwelled, and ſeveral contuſions on his neck, back, and arms.

He was alſo beaten in a barbarous manner on the fourteenth and eighteenth days of the ſame month, and for no other reaſon than becauſe the captain was in a paſſion with others.

The ſecond perſon, and whoſe caſe is now to be conſidered, was knocked down two or three times in a day, without any juſt cauſe. At one time in particular, when the captain came upon deck, and found that the people, who were then waſhing the decks, had not moved the hen-coops as before, he immediately ſeized this perſon who was ſtanding by, and having felled him down on the floor, ſtamped upon his body as he was lying there. Then ſeizing him, with an intention, as he ſwore, of throwing him overboard, he dragged him to the ſtern of the veſſel. The unhappy man, to ſave himſelf, caught hold of the ſtern rails, by which he held faſt till he was relieved by two of the ſhip's crew. In conſequence of this treatment, he had ſeveral contuſions on his breaſt, back, and other parts of his body, and alſo a black eye, with a ſwelled face, which deprived him of the ſight of one of his eyes for about a fortnight.

At another time, when the ſhip arrived in the Weſt-Indies, he was beaten, without the commiſſion of a fault, in an inhuman manner. The captain ſtruck him here ſo ſeverely over his face, as to occaſion his mouth to bleed

for

for ſome time. He kicked him afterwards over his bowels, and with ſuch violence, as to occaſion him to fall down, when he jumped upon his breaſt as before, and otherwiſe cruelly treated him. The unfortunate victim, when he went on ſhore, complained to the magiſtrate of the place, to whom the veſſel being conſigned, he received no other ſatisfaction than his diſcharge; though he carried with him his ſhirt, ſtained with the blood which had then iſſued from his wounds. He was accompanied, on his application to this magiſtrate, by the perſon mentioned before him, who preferred his complaint likewiſe, and obtained—*equal redreſs.*

It would be a tedious and a painful taſk to deſcribe the treatment which every individual received on board this veſſel. I ſhall therefore ſubmit to the reader but three more caſes for his peruſal.

The firſt in the fourth bracket was a very ſenſible old ſeaman, and formerly in his Majeſty's ſervice. He had had ſome words on the forecaſtle with an officer, on account of complaining that he had no water to drink. The officer told the captain of the ſeaman's behaviour, and of his inſolence in complaining. The latter inſtantly ſeized him, and beat out ſeveral of his teeth with his fiſt. He then ordered a pump-bolt to be put into his mouth, which was confined there by means of ſome rope-yarn tied behind his head. The poor old man was almoſt choaked, being unable to ſpit out the great quantity of blood which was then running down and collecting in his throat. He was then tied for two hours to the rail of the quarter deck, as he had previouſly declared his intention of leaping overboard, to avoid the farther perſecution of his oppreſſor. When the two hours were expired, he was ordered under the half deck, tied to the grating companion of the ſteerage, and kept there all night with a centinel over him. In about a month afterwards he was ſeized with a fever, and died.

The ſecond, a lad of about ſeventeen years of age, was repeatedly knocked and kicked about, and otherwiſe cruelly treated by the ſame perſon for imaginary faults. The ſaid lad had received from one of the other officers a wound in his toe. The captain was ſo far from favouring him in

this

this ſituation, that he endeavoured to diſtreſs him the more, and therefore compelled him to act as a centinel over the ſlaves; an office, which requires much walking about. This cruel uſage ſoon produced a fever; nor did he ever feel for his ſituation at this time, for he obliged him to ſit on the gratings during his illneſs, as a centinel over the room of the women ſlaves.

Overpowered now by illneſs and fatigue, he fell aſleep on the gratings. The captain coming on the quarter deck at the ſame time, and finding him in the ſituation deſcribed, began, with oaths and imprecations, to beat him in an unmerciful manner. The poor lad, kicked at length from the gratings, and terribly bruiſed beſides, crawled with much difficulty to the ſurgeon's mate. He there complained, in the anguiſh of his heart, of the bitter treatment he had received. He then ſolicited a little of the barley water, which is uſually kept for the ſlaves; but while he was drinking it, he fell down at the feet of the ſurgeon's mate, and expired.

The third, and laſt whom I ſhall mention, was a black ſeaman, who had ſhipped himſelf in England as cook of the above veſſel. The captain ſeems to have ſingled out this unfortunate man, as an object in which all his different modes of perſecution were to centre. He knocked him down almoſt daily. He flogged him repeatedly on his naked back with his own hands, for ſo much pleaſure did he receive from the exerciſe of cruelty and oppreſſion, that he became the executioner on theſe occaſions. He put a large chain about his neck, at the end of which was faſtened a log of wood. In this chain he compelled him to do his duty as cook of the veſſel, beating him ſeverely in the interim, and kicking him about for his diverſion.

At one time he ordered him to be tied up for no fault whatever, and he flogged him in ſuch an unmerciful manner, that it was apprehended his arm would mortify, and nothing but the ſkill and aſſiduity of the ſurgeon ſaved it at laſt.

At another time he was ordered by the captain into his cabin. The pretence was this, that he had not roaſted the yams properly, (which is a luncheon at twelve o'clock). As ſoon as he entered the cabin door, the inhuman wretch for

for his diverſion darted a knife and fork at him. The poor man fled in conſternation from the cabin. The captain purſued him, and, to complete his cruelty, ſet his dog upon him as uſual. The animal immediately obeyed, tore off his frock, and bit him in ſeveral places. I muſt add, that it was almoſt the daily practice of this barbarian to ſend for the above black ſeaman into his cabin, and to divert himſelf with darting at him the inſtruments before mentioned, whenever he could get, what he termed, a *fair mark*.

At another time he darted at him an inſtrument which was commonly uſed for ſtriking fiſh. It conſiſted of a large thick ſtick, with a quantity of lead at one end of it, and three or four prongs or javelins at the other. This inſtrument was thrown at him with great force, and, unleſs he had fortunately ſtooped, he muſt have been killed, as it went juſt over his head, and ſtuck into the boards of the barricado of the veſſel. The breaking of a plate was the grand crime that had been imputed to him on this occaſion.

At another time he was flogged as before, and ſo ſeverely, that he was cut from the neck to the ſmall of the back in a ſhocking manner. When the operation was over, the captain called for a bucket, in which he mixed pepper and ſalt water, and then anointed his back, with a view to increaſe his pain. In ſhort, ſo barbarous was his conduct to this poor fellow, that he became inſenſible at laſt, and, full of ſcars, and unable to walk upright, he frequently crawled in his chain, like a dog, upon all fours; the captain, by his ill uſage, having reduced him both in form and mind to a level with the brute creation.

Theſe are ſome of the inſtances of cruelty, that were practiſed on the ſeamen of this veſſel. I find it impoſſible, for want of time, to inſert them all. I ſhall therefore cloſe my account here, and with this obſervation, that out of a crew, conſiſting of fifty-one perſons, there were only *three* that eſcaped the barbarity of this monſter in human ſhape.

The reader will probably think, from the diſmal hiſtory now offered to his peruſal, that I have at leaſt ſingled out a ſhip, where the treatment was more unfavourable than in

in any other in the ſame line. But I poſitively deny any charge that may be brought againſt me in this particular. I can ſpecify inſtances of deliberate barbarity exerciſed on the bodies of Britiſh ſeamen in this trade, that *exceed* any I have yet deſcribed; and I aſſert further, that out of the captains of twenty ſhips taken promiſcuouſly in it, I cannot find, upon a minute inveſtigation, more than three, whatever may be their appearance at home, that are men of common humanity on their reſpective voyages.

To theſe three individuals then, who, truſted with unlimited power, ſurrounded by bad example, and placed on the brink of vice from the very nature of the trade, to theſe I ſay, who, in this ſituation have ſwerved from the common practice, I take this opportunity of paying that juſt tribute, which their behaviour deſerves; but, I preſume, that they will derive more pleaſure from the peace and ſatisfaction in their own breaſts, than from any publick commendation.

SECTION IV.

Before I inveſtigate the argument adduced in the firſt ſection, that the *ſlave trade is a nurſery for our ſeamen*, I ſhall anſwer two queſtions which may be ſtarted here.

The firſt may be delivered in the following terms. "Are not the ſame cruelties practiſed in other trades?"—I make the following reply.

A certain perſon, totally unconnected with the law, had no leſs than ſixty-three applications made to him in three months, to obtain redreſs for ſuch ſeamen, as had experienced the fury of the officers of their reſpective ſhips. Upon examination of their different caſes, it appeared, that one of them had been cruelly treated on board a Weſt-Indiaman, and that another had been knocked down and ſeverely bruiſed on board an Iriſh trader. The remaining *ſixty-one* were victims to the tyranny of the officers before deſcribed.

The firſt caſe, that came to his knowledge, was that of an unfortunate perſon, who had been landed from a ſlave-veſſel in a ſickly ſtate but the preceding day. He had been repeatedly knocked down with the but-end of the

cat.

cat. His life had been rendered ſo uncomfortable, that he had made three efforts to leap overboard, and deſtroy it. When he was taken up the laſt time he had juſt been ſaved from the jaws of a ſhark that had been making after him. The unfortunate man had been alſo repeatedly chained to the deck of the ſhip, and in that ſituation had been inſulted and beaten by his oppreſſor. When the application was made, he was in bed, and delirious. I ſhall obſerve here, that the reſt of the ſame crew had been treated in a barbarous manner.

In the ſecond, ſeveral of the party preſent came to inform of a murder that had been committed on the body of a Britiſh ſeaman upon the coaſt.

A third ſeaman had had his arm broken, without any provocation, by the but end of a cat, an inſtrument before deſcribed.

A fourth being ordered to catch hold of the main-top-ſail brace, and miſtaking for it the main-top-bowling, had been knocked down with a handſpike, and his arm broken in two places.

A fifth received ſuch treatment as the reader will hardly believe; but I muſt inform him that this, as well as moſt of the other tranſactions, is upon oath, and that his perſecutor has acknowledged it by the payment of a fine.—This unfortunate man, for a ſuppoſed want of care in a moſt trifling inſtance, was ſtripped naked, and corded down with his belly upon the deck. The barbarian and tyrant of the ſhip ſtreaked his back, coolly and deliberately, with the end of a poker that had been heated for the purpoſe. I need not ſay that the poor man was in the greateſt agonies on the occaſion.

At another time, and on a like charge, while his wounds were yet freſh, a large lump of pitch was melted hot upon his back, and he was made to ſuffer the moſt excruciating pain.

A ſixth was treated in the following manner, as collected from a depoſition, made for the purpoſe of corroborating the fact.

A certain ſhip was lying in the month of ———, and in the river ———, on the coaſt of Africa, for ſlaves. The captain had been on ſhore, but on the evening came

on board. On being informed of a circumſtance, which a favourite had *deviſed* to have happened in his abſence from the ſhip, he called for a certain ſeaman. Without any kind of inquiry, and with that impetuoſity and deſpotiſm, which mark the principal agents in this trade, he immediately knocked him down, tore his ſhirt from his back with his own hands, and ordered him to be tied up for the purpoſe of flogging him.

When the poor innocent man was ſufficiently ſecured, the captain took up the cat, which was a rope of three inches and an half in circumference, with nine tails at one end of it, and a double walled knot of nearly eight inches in circumference at the other. He beat him alternately with each end, and frequently on the back part of the head with the knot deſcribed. When his right hand was tired, he curſed it for being unable to perform its office compleatly, and had then recourſe to his left.

Being too much wearied at length to continue the operation to his own mind, he applied to an officer of the ſhip, and ordered him to exert his ſtrength, after the example given him, on the back of this innocent and unoffending man. The officer felt himſelf in a ſituation to be obliged to comply with his commands, but ſtruck him only with the tail end of the inſtrument before deſcribed.

A ſecond officer, being afterwards applied to for the ſame purpoſe, flogged him in the ſame manner, till the tails of the cat were worn into ſhreds, and it became no longer an inſtrument of pain.

By this time the captain had reſted himſelf ſufficiently to renew the taſk. He pulled off his jacket, tucked up the ſleeves of his ſhirt, ordered another cat of the ſame kind to be brought, and uſed it in the ſame manner. To abbreviate this tale of woe, I ſhall ſay at once, that the puniſhment, from the time of its commencement to the time of its diſcontinuance, laſted for *three hours*.

The unhappy man, unable to ſuſtain this accumulated perſecution, had fainted before the operation was over; his head had hung on his ſhoulder; and, when he was taken down, he lay motionleſs on the deck.

The

The barbarian of the ſhip, not yet ſatisfied with his diabolical treatment of the unfortunate victim, ordered his hands and feet to be faſtened together, his right hand to his left foot, and his left hand to his right. When this was done, a rope was made faſt to the ſhackled limbs, and, like a caſk, he was hoiſted up from the deck. He was afterwards let down, by means of the ſame rope, into a boat, which was then lying by the ſide of the veſſel. In this boat, and in this confined ſituation, he was left for the remainder of the night.

About five o'clock on the next morning, a ſeaman, having found his way into the boat, came up again, and reported that the unfortunate man was dead. In conſequence of this, his body was brought up, and laid in the waiſt of the veſſel. Another, who was his meſſmate, on coming up and ſeeing him there, had the curioſity to examine him. In feeling above his neck, three of his fingers found their way into a hole in the ſkull, which he, one of the deponents, ſaid, had been made by the double walled knot of the cat before deſcribed, and which had been applied to him there in the moſt unmerciful manner. In withdrawing them from the wound, a great quantity of blood iſſued out, and came profuſely upon the deck.

The tyrant of the ſhip, when he roſe in the morning, and ſaw the body in its bleeding ſtate, expreſſed no emotions of pity or concern, but, in a rough and imperious tone, only ordered it to be buried.

It may not be amiſs to remark, that the unhappy victim had been in full health and vigour but the preceding night. He had been uncommonly cheerful, and had played on his flute juſt before the tranſaction happened, while the reſt of the ſeamen danced. In the morning, however,—he was no more.

Theſe are ſome additional inſtances of the behaviour of the captains of ſlave veſſels to the unfortunate people, who compoſe their reſpective crews. Shocking as they are, they will hardly give the reader an adequate idea of the various cruelties exerciſed upon thoſe, who embark in this trade. All on board is deliberate barbarity and op-

preſſion. An unfortunate ſailor cannot ſpeak or complain, but it is an offence againſt diſcipline, and an offence, never to be forgiven. While a Britiſh admiral, the higheſt character on the globe, does not think it below his dignity to be ſolicitous for the happineſs of his people, or to attend to their complaints; the paltry captain of a ſlave veſſel, the moſt deſpicable character upon earth, is the only human being who looks upon a Britiſh ſeaman as an inferior animal, and worthy of oppreſſion and contempt.

The other inſtances are of a ſimilar nature to the firſt four, but I ſhould be as weary to communicate, as the reader to peruſe them. If any perſon ſhould conſider thoſe, that have been already mentioned, as ſufficient to corroborate the cruel treatment ſo generally inſiſted upon in this trade, I ſhall neither have written nor have felt in vain.

The ſecond queſtion, that may be ſtarted, is the following:

"If this be the real ſituation of things, how happens "it that the objects of ſuch tyranny and oppreſſion ſhould "not obtain redreſs, and that our courts of law ſhould "not have to decide upon more caſes of this kind, than "they have at preſent?"

I anſwer, becauſe theſe objects are generally without friends and money, without which the injured will ſeek for juſtice but in vain; and becauſe the peculiarity of their ſituation is an impediment to their endeavours for redreſs.

But to be more particular.—Where are theſe unfortunate people to appeal?

"In the Weſt-Indies," you will ſay, "where they firſt land." But here one of the magiſtrates is perhaps the perſon to whom the veſſel is conſigned, and will not interfere. By another, when applied to, they are termed *deſerters*, and unworthy either of credit or relief.

But let us follow them home to their deſtined port. How are they to obtain redreſs, or to whom alſo are they to make their application here?

You will ſay, "to a gentleman of the law." But this gentleman of the law has many ſlave merchants for his clients, and refuſes to be employed.

"Let

"Let them apply then to another." But this other refuſes them from a different conſideration. He reaſons thus: "It will, perhaps, be a long while, on account of the forms of law, before the deciſion can be made. The witneſſes muſt be forth-coming at an appointed time. But who are they? People, whoſe dependance is upon the *ſea*; who look up to it for their ſupport; who will not be a month on ſhore before their wages will be gone, and before they muſt get employment again. If they get into employ, they cannot appear. If they ſtay, who is to ſupport them?"

This, and other conſiderations, peculiar to the ſituation and character of ſeamen, have hindered many from taking up their cauſe; and have deprived them of that redreſs, which the laws of every country ought to afford them as *men*; but particularly of this, which is indebted to their invincible perſeverance and intrepidity for its preſent grandeur and ſupport.

This account, though made as conciſe as poſſible, (for I had a volume of facts to offer on this head) will, I have no doubt, give the reader a yet more horrid notion of this execrable trade. It is begun in iniquity; it is continued in baſeneſs: and whether we refer to the unhappy ſlaves, or the unfortunate ſeamen employed in it; in ſhort, whether we view it at home or abroad, or conſider the modes adopted in the practice of it, or its effects, it equally calls for the interpoſition of the legiſlature, being equally enormous and baſe.

CHAP. V.

SECTION I.

I come now to the argument, upon which ſo great a ſtreſs has been laid, that *the ſlave trade is a nurſery for our ſeamen.*

The truth of this argument I deny in the moſt explicit and unequivocal manner. I aſſert, on the other hand, that it is a *grave* for our ſeamen, and that it deſtroys more

in *one* year, than *all the other* trades of Great Britain, when put together, deſtroy in *two*.

To ſhew this in the cleareſt manner, I ſhall divide the loſs, which the ſtate experiences in her ſeamen by the proſecution of the ſlave trade, into *three* parts. The firſt will contain ſuch as are actually on the dead liſt, while on pay, and in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips. This ſhall be immediately explained. The other two ſhall be each of them canvaſſed in a diſtinct ſection.

I am aware, that in attempting to aſcertain the firſt to the ſatisfaction of the reader, I muſt avoid all general aſſertion, and produce many of thoſe *particular facts*, which have induced me to ſpeak with ſo much confidence on the ſubject. I ſhall therefore ſubmit to his inſpection an account of the loſs ſuſtained by the laſt eighty-eight veſſels in this trade, that had returned to Liverpool from their reſpective voyages in the September of the year 1787. I give him ſo great a number for three reaſons, firſt, becauſe it includes all veſſels both great and ſmall; ſecondly, becauſe it includes deſtinations to all parts of the coaſt; and thirdly, becauſe it is from a number only, that any inference can be juſtly drawn.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen * loſt in each.*
Siſters,	3
Hornet,	15
Molly,	14
Fair American,	10
Lyon,	15
Will,	17
Telemachus,	8
Peggy,	9
Pedros Valley,	3
Doe,	3
Matty and Betty,	3
Gregſon,	12
Bloom,	5

* Under the term loſt, is included thoſe that died, or were killed, or were drowned Neither the captains, nor any of thoſe ſeamen that were taken in at the Weſt Indies, are included in the account.

William,

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt in each.*
William,	8
Brooks,	9
Vulture,	5
Enterprize,	3
Venus,	1
Mermaid,	6
Chriſtopher,	8
Thomas,	2
Africa,	2
Little Joe,	1
Preſident,	8
Mary Ann,	13
Madam Pookata,	3
Hinde,	2
Mary,	6
Brothers,	4
Chambers,	7
Vale,	1
John,	17
Benſon,	3
Mary,	3
Gaſcoyne,	13
Bud,	5
Eſſex,	8
Elliott,	7
King Pepple,	5
Juba,	9
Garland,	13
Moſsley Hill,	8
Mary,	9
Cato,	10
Darnal,	10
Tarleton,	5
Africa,	19
Quixote,	4
Hero,	8
Roſe,	12
James,	8

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt in each.*
Oronooko,	6
Blaydes	17
Kitty,	5
Tartar,	15
Golden Age,	11
Fancy,	7
Ally,	11
Mungo,	2
Jane,	7
George,	5
Hornet,	13
Sarah,	0
Venus,	2
Mary,	0
Mary,	5
Jemmy,	2
Lord Stanley,	5
Madam Pookata	3
Mercer,	6
Hannah,	3
Fanny,	3
Mary Ann,	6
Moſsley-Hill,	5
Chambers,	0
Will,	5
Vulture,	16
Creſcent,	0
Colonel,	7
Gregſon,	6
Little Joe,	4
Favourite,	15
Peggy,	3
Maria,	24
Enterprize,	5
Heart of Oak,	1
Bloom,	9
Ingram,	15
Total loſt	631
Employed	3082

The

The reader will ſee, by caſting his eye on the preceding liſt, *that the ſlave trade cannot poſſibly be a nurſery for our ſeamen*, for it clearly appears from thence, that if we refer the eſtimate to the *number of ſhips*, every veſſel, that ſails from the port of Liverpool in this trade loſes more than *ſeven* of her crew, and that if we refer it to the *number of ſeamen* employed, more than a *fifth* periſh.

This has been the invariable proportion for the port of Liverpool for many years;—and I ſhould have ſtated it to the reader without the preceding liſt, but that I thought it would be more ſatisfactory for him to ſee at leaſt a part of the foundation, on which it had been raiſed.

The other ports alſo have had, in conſequence of the ſame kind of inveſtigation, their different proportions of loſs aſſigned them, which are ſo accurate, that if applied to any number of ſhips taken promiſcuouſly, and exceeding twenty, they will be found to anſwer on almoſt every occaſion. Theſe, with the former, I ſhall now ſtate without reſerve.

Firſt: Every veſſel that ſails from the port of Liverpool to the coaſt of Africa, loſes on an average more than ſeven of her crew, or a fifth of the whole number employed.

Secondly: Every veſſel from the port of Briſtol loſes on an average nearly nine, or almoſt a fourth of the whole crew.

Thirdly: Every veſſel from the port of London loſes more than eight, and between a fourth and a fifth of the whole complement of her men.

By theſe ſtatements it will appear, that if we compound the loſs at the different ports of this kingdom, which are uſed for the proſecution of the ſlave trade, every veſſel may be ſaid to loſe more than *eight* of her crew; and if we refer the loſs to the number employed, *between a fourth and a fifth* may be ſaid to periſh. To theſe obſervations I ſhall only add, that in the year 1786, *eleven hundred and twenty-five* ſeamen will be found upon the *dead liſt*, in conſequence of this execrable trade.

SECTION II.

SECTION II.

The *ſecond* part of the loſs, mentioned in the preceding ſection, is now to be conſidered. It will be found to contain ſuch, as are annually diſſipated in the *Weſt-Indies* after their diſcharge from their reſpective ſhips; and of whom, from this period, the muſter-rolls give no farther account.

Some of the ſlave veſſels, which arrive in the Weſt-Indies, have perhaps experienced but little mortality in their crews. It is clear, in this caſe, that many of the ſeamen on board become *ſupernumerary* for the remainder of the voyage.

Others again bring them in, in ſo weak and impaired a ſtate, that they are conſidered as *incapable* of navigating the veſſels home.

Theſe circumſtances therefore occaſion many of them to be diſcharged there. The ſick are ſometimes forced on ſhore in the night previous to the departure of the veſſel home, and are left to ſhift for themſelves, though the very act of diſcharging them in the colonies, even in a reputable way, is contrary to law: while others are ſo tired of the voyage, ſo diſguſted at the treatment which they have received, and ſo much in want of reſt and comfort, that they chuſe rather to forfeit the whole of their wages, and deſert, than to return home in the ſame ſhip.

It appears then, that many of the ſeamen, for the reaſons given, have left, or have been obliged to leave, their reſpective veſſels, either on the arrival of theſe in the Weſt-Indies, or before their departure home. It will be now proper to follow them, and to ſee their fate.

Some of theſe, as opportunity offers, make application to ſuch ſhips, either employed in this or another line, as are returning to England, and procure a birth. But the demand being not equal to the employment of more than half of thoſe who are ſet adrift, a conſiderable number are annually left behind. Among theſe then, the reſidue that are unemployed, is to be traced the ſecond part of the loſs, which I mentioned to have originated in the proſecution of the trade.

To

To attempt to aſcertain it, (which I preſume will be no difficult taſk) I ſhall confine myſelf to one particular year.

In the year 1786 were employed in the Slave trade, in round numbers		5000 Seamen.
Of this number came home with the veſſels	2320	
Upon the dead liſt were - -	1130	
Diſcharged in Africa, and not accounted for by other veſſels - -	80	
Diſcharged and deſerted in the Weſt-Indies - - - -	1470	
	5000	
Taken up in the place of thoſe diſcharged or deſerted - -	610	

It will be now no difficult matter to aſcertain the point in queſtion. It has been juſt ſtated, that *fourteen hundred and ſeventy* ſeamen were put adrift in the colonies in the year 1786, and that only * *ſix hundred and ten* were taken up in their ſtead. It remains therefore only to inquire of whom this body conſiſted, that were thus taken up in the year 1786, as ſubſtitutes for thoſe, who were ſet adrift within the ſame period.

* To ſhew that this trade is perfectly ſyſtematick and productive of the ſame effects, I ſhall ſubjoin the ſtate of four or five lots of ſhips, taken promiſcuouſly for the purpoſe.

	Diſcharged or deſerted in the Weſt-Indies.	*Taken up in their ſtead.*
In 24 ſhips in the Slave-trade	334	140
In 24 others -	211	88
In 24 others -	209	86
In 24 others -	205	73
In 16 others -	155	72
	1114	459

The reader will ſee from hence, that there is a continual diſgorgement of ſeamen from theſe veſſels into the iſlands, and not a drawback of one-half by the ſame.

Let

Let us ſuppoſe firſt, that theſe ſix hundred and ten ſubſtitutes were all of them *Guinea ſeamen*. Then it is clear, that each of the ſlave veſſels, which arrived laſt in the colonies, muſt have taken up a part of thoſe which the preceding had left behind; that thoſe, who were thus taken up, muſt have been a part of the ſame that were diſcharged; and that *eight hundred and ſixty* remain to be accounted for in that year.

Let us ſuppoſe ſecondly, that they were *Weſt-India ſeamen*, who ran from their reſpective ſhips, and that none of the fourteen hundred and ſeventy were taken up by the ſlave veſſels in the given time. Then it is clear, that the Weſt-Indiamen muſt have wanted an equal number of hands to ſupply the places of thoſe that had left them. For this ſupply ſet off an equal number taken from the fourteen hundred and ſeventy before mentioned. This will be only changing hands, and the balance will remain as before.

Let us ſuppoſe thirdly, (which is the real caſe) that they conſiſted of both, that is, that a part of the ſubſtitutes were taken from the Weſt-Indiamen, and the remaining part from the ſlave veſſels. Then it is equally evident, that the reſult will be the ſame. So that, in whatever point of view we conſider the caſe, it will appear, that only ſix hundred and ten ſeamen out of the whole number deſerting or diſcharged have yet found their way out of the colonies, and of courſe, that *eight hundred and ſixty* yet remain to be accounted for in the expenditure of the year 1786.

This being the caſe, I muſt now inquire what became of the latter, for they compoſe a number too ſerious to be paſſed over without a rigid inveſtigation.

It will be ſaid, that they came home in the Weſt-Indiamen. But I reply, that the Weſt-Indiamen have already received a ſufficient number to replace thoſe of their own ſeamen, who were taken up by the ſlave veſſels in that year, and that the balance is ſtill the ſame. If therefore any were wanted by the former veſſels, it could be only to ſupply the places of ſuch as died, or were loſt on board them.

This

This loſs, on a ſuppoſition that ſix hundred ſail of veſſels were employed in the Weſt-Indies from Great Britain in the year 1786, was not more than that of *one hundred and ſixty* ſeamen, ſo that *ſeven hundred* (admitting the loſs to have been ſo ſupplied) muſt have been ſtill left in the colonies.

It will be now ſaid, that the remainder went into the King's ſervice. Shall I reſerve two hundred of them for this purpoſe, a much greater number than were ever wanted annually as recruits in the time of peace? What became of the reſt, for *five hundred* ſtill remain to be accounted for.

The truth is, that they were loſt for ever to the ſtate, and that this number will ſtill continue to be *annually* loſt, ſo long as the trade is proſecuted to its preſent extent.

In the following picture may be ſeen the fate of the unemployed remains of thoſe, who are thus annually ſet adrift in the colonies.

Some of theſe, in an infirm and debilitated ſtate of health, (the reaſons of which will be given in a future chapter) and rather *ſhadows* in their appearance than *men*, are ſoon carried to the hoſpitals, and die there.

Others, to forget their ſufferings, and to have a little relaxation after the hardſhips and ſeverities they have experienced, indulge themſelves on ſhore. They drink new rum. Their habit of body is unable to bear it, and they fall victims, I will not ſay to their intemperance, but to the nature of the trade, which has brought them firſt into a debilitated ſtate, and has then put them adrift to effect their own cure. These are ſeen in the ſtreets * dying daily in an *ulcerated* ſtate, objects both of commiſeration and horror. Their ſituation immediately points them out as the remains of the crew of a ſlave veſſel: but they fall without pity, without friends, without a look but of contempt from the hardened multitude that paſſes by.

Others, without friends, and without money, wander about in the different iſlands, and beg from door to door, till overpowered by heat, hunger, and fatigue, they fall equally unpitied, and ſhare the fate of their former friends.

* Particularly in Jamaica.

Others,

Others, upon ſeeing all theſe calamities, are additionally ſo hurt on account of the brutal ſeverities exerciſed upon them, and the want of protection and redreſs, determine to embark for America, there to ſpend the remainder of their days: and ſo invincible has been the reſolution of many of them in this reſpect, that, deſtitute of money, they have ſuffered themſelves to die with hunger, ſooner than embark in any ſhip that belonged to their own country.

In theſe different ways are many of the brave but unfortunate ſeamen, who are put adrift in the colonies from the veſſels before deſcribed, loſt *additionally* to the ſtate, and in ſuch a proportion, that not leſs than *five hundred* annually, in the time of the * peace eſtabliſhment, or about *four* to every veſſel, may be added, *as loſt in the Weſt-Indies*, to thoſe upon the dead liſt, that are martyrs to this inhuman trade.

SECTION III.

I come now to the *third* part of the loſs, which the ſtate experiences. This may be traced in ſuch of the ſeamen as, having left the colonies either in their own or in other ſhips, have returned *home*.

Some of theſe, and not an inconſiderable number, when we view them as ſeamen, go blind in conſequence of the voyage, and become in future for ever dead as naval ſubjects to the ſtate.

Others, worn out and landed from the ſhips in a weak and emaciated condition, are carried to the infirmaries, and die there.

Others, labouring under the ſcurvy, rheumatiſm, and a complication of diſorders, contracted from the very nature of the voyage, become incurable. Their whole habit is ſo broken down and relaxed, that oedematous ſwellings are the conſequence in their legs, and they are cut off from all chance or poſſibility of purſuing a naval life. Others, that have been maimed or ill treated, are in the ſame

* The peace eſtabliſhment in this trade conſiſts of about one hundred and thirty veſſels.

ſituation

ſituation. While others again, diſguſted at the barbarous treatment exerciſed upon them, and perhaps in their firſt voyages, become diſheartened, relinquiſh the ſea, and betake themſelves to thoſe occupations which they left, or of which they have moſt knowledge.

Theſe are the different ways in which the *third* part of the loſs is occaſioned; and if we include thoſe who become blind, and die in the infirmaries, and are rendered by ill treatment and a complication of diſorders incapable of purſuing the ſea, and who relinquiſh it from diſguſt, it will be a very moderate ſtatement to ſay, (at leaſt as far as my inquiries have yet reached) that *three* naval ſubjects are *additionally* loſt to the ſtate by every veſſel, even out of thoſe who *return home*.

Theſe obſervations being put together, and the whole loſs, including thoſe that were upon the dead liſt, and thoſe that were loſt in the colonies, and thoſe that died and were rendered unſerviceable at home, being eſtimated, it cannot be ſtated, that leſs than *fifteen* ſeamen in every veſſel, or *nineteen hundred and fifty* out of the whole number employed, were loſt to the ſervice of this country by the proſecution of the ſlave trade in the year * 1786.

SECTION IV.

Having now ſtated the *actual* loſs, which the veſſels experienced in this trade, I come to the *comparative*; for I have ſaid that the ſlave trade was not only a *grave* for our ſeamen, but that it deſtroyed *more* in *one* year than *all the other* trades of Great Britain, when put together, deſtroy in *two*.

For this purpoſe, I ſhall exhibit the loſs ſuſtained in ſeveral trades, confining myſelf to a certain number of veſſels taken promiſcuouſly in each.

* The loſs, ſtated in the year 1786, will be nearly applicable to that of the year 1787, or any other year of what may be called the peace eſtabliſhment in this trade; for in any ſuch years, nearly the ſame number will be found on the dead liſt; the ſame number diſcharged in the colonies; the ſame number taken up in their places; and the ſame number dead, and rendered unſerviceable at home;—ſo ſyſtematick (as I obſerved in a former note) is this trade.

An

An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four Slave Veſſels from the Port of BRISTOL.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
Africa	7
Pearl	20
Jupiter	11
Hector	8
Emilia	8
Conſtantine	11
Alfred	6
Jupiter	14
Sally	7
Waſp	3
Little Hornet	6
Royal Charlotte	14
Tryal	6
Emilia	9
Alexander	9
Little Pearl	5
Mermaid	2
Waſp	6
Brothers	32
Thomas	8
Emilia	3
Alert	4
Royal Charlotte	2
Alexander	15
	216

An

An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four EAST-INDIAMEN.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
Manſhip	7
William Pitt	13
Duke of Montroſe	10
Earl Cornwallis	4
Phœnix	23
Northumberland	6
Ranger	1
Southampton	8
Chapman	4
Kent	12
Stormont	9
Royal Charlotte	9
Contractor	5
Bridgewater	2
Neptune	6
Vanſittart	7
Earl Talbot	20
Valentine	8
Lord North	3
Ganges	13
Sulivan	7
Carnatic	2
Pitt	3
Berrington	19
	201

An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four WEST-INDIAMEN.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
Good Hope	0
Exeter	0
Venus	0
Charles	0
Juno	0
Colin	0
Albion	0
Mercury	0
St. Thomas	0
Druid	3
Induſtry	0
Apollo	0
Saville	0
Fanny	0
Jarrett	0
Lord North	0
Triton	1
Fame	0
Union Iſland	0
Mercury	0
Generous Planter	1
Diſpatch	1
Salter	0
Pilgrim	0
	6

An

* An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four Veſſels in the PETERSBURG Trade.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
Exeter	0
Nancy	0
Three Siſters	0
Joſeph	0
Exeter	0
Baltick Merchant	0
Three Siſters	0
Three Siſters	0
Polly	0
Sally	0
Three Siſters	0
Polly	0
Three Siſters	0
Monmouth	0
Baltick Merchant	0
Monmouth	0
Baltick Merchant	1
Monmouth	0
Sally	0
Baltick Merchant	1
Sally	0
Monmouth	0
Sally	0
Monmouth	0
	2

* The Peterſburg trade, at Briſtol, where I collected ſome of my papers, being ſmall, I have been obliged to take the ſame ſhip for three or four voyages.

An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four Veſſels in the NEWFOUNDLAND Trade.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
Surpriſe	0
Somerſet	0
Catherine	0
Jenny	0
Little Robert	0
Unity	0
Nancy	1
Briſtol Packet	0
Friends	0
Ripley	0
Harbourgrace Packet	0
Active	0
Ann	0
Mermaid	0
Surpriſe	1
Brothers	0
Fly	0
Catherine	0
Betſey	0
Friendſhip	0
Jenny	0
Nancy	0
Sally	0
Nancy	0
	2

An

An Account of the LOSS ſuſtained in Twenty-four GREENLANDMEN.

Ships Names.	*Number of Seamen loſt.*
William and John	0
Lyon	0
Betty	0
Peggy	0
Lyon	2
Philippa	0
William	0
Sarah	0
Leviathan	0
Pilgrim	0
John	0
Grampus	0
Golden Lyon	0
Brilliant	1
James	0
Anſdell	0
Whale	0
Margaret	1
Peggy	0
Argus	0
Betty	0
Swan	0
Fiſher	1
Seacome	0
	5

To recapitulate, the account will ſtand thus:

In twenty-four Slave veſſels	216
——— Eaſt-Indian	201
——— Weſt-Indian	6
——— Greenland	5
——— Peterſburg	2
——— Newfoundland	2

But this ſtatement, though it exhibits the loſs ſuſtained in an equal number of veſſels in different trades, does not yet give us that juſt comparative view, which the caſe requires. Some of theſe were conſiderably longer on their voyage, and carried a much greater number of men than others. Theſe two circumſtances, therefore, are to be reduced to an equilibrium. We muſt put an equal number of hands into the different trades. We muſt make them ſerve for an equal time; and the loſs, which each would experience under theſe circumſtances, will be the true comparative loſs.

I will not trouble the reader to follow me through the proceſs of theſe calculations. I ſhall therefore inform him immediately, that in raiſing the time and number in ſome, and reducing them in others, to a juſt equilibrium, the account will ſtand thus:

In 910 ſeamen employed in the Briſtol ſlave-veſſels for one year, will be loſt more than		200
In 910 ——— in Eaſt-Indiamen	37	
In 910 ——— in Weſt-Indiamen	21	
In 910 ——— in the Peterſburg trade	10	87
In 910 ——— in the Newfoundland trade	10	
In 910 ——— in the Greenland trade	9	

Having

Having now furniſhed a comparative view of the loſs ſuſtained in ſome of the trades that are carried on by the ſubjects of this country, I will venture to aſſert, that if we except the ſlave trade, all the reſt of them put together did not diſſipate more than *nine hundred* ſeamen in the year 1786. In the ſame year were deſtroyed by the ſlave trade *nineteen hundred and fifty*. So that the truth of my former aſſertion, "that this iniquitous trade deſtroys "*more*, in *one year*, than all the other trades of Great "Britain, when put together, deſtroy in *two*," will but too manifeſtly appear.

The account, which I have now given, including many particular facts, will, I doubt not, have ſufficient weight with the diſintereſted Britiſh reader, to overturn the argument, which has never been inſiſted upon but in *general* terms, that *the ſlave trade is a nurſery for our ſeamen*. The reverſe, I apprehend, will ſtrike him in a very forcible light; and, if I do not anticipate too haſtily, cannot but be productive of pain. That every ſhip, ſo occupied and employed, ſhould be attended with ſuch a loſs as has been ſpecified, is a circumſtance, ſo melancholy in itſelf, and ſo fatal in its conſequences, that it muſt fill him with alarm and horror, and he will wait with painful anxiety for the ſuppreſſion of a trade, which ſo manifeſtly tends to wound his country in its vital parts. In vain will its advocates plead with him, that the chain of commerce will be broken, or that a part of the mercantile fabrick of the nation will be thrown down. Let them remember, that it has been raiſed at the expenſe of the pillars of the ſtate; and *that no emolument whatever, which individuals can obtain from the trade, can ever be thought a ſufficient compenſation for ſo great and ſo national a loſs*.

CHAP. VI.

I muſt now inquire, whether the trade in the natural productions of the country would be equally detrimental to the ſtate; for it will immediately be alleged, that the veſſels, in which it is to be conducted, muſt go to the *ſame coaſt*.

I ſhall anſwer this objection in the moſt explicit manner, by endeavouring to prove, that if the ſame ſhips and men were to go into the trade propoſed, they would not experience an equal loſs.

This I ſhall attempt to demonſtrate by recurring to the cauſes of the loſs deſcribed, and by ſhewing theſe cauſes to be chiefly peculiar to the trade in ſlaves, or ſuch as would ceaſe to exiſt, *were the trade aboliſhed*.

The firſt will be found upon the coaſt.

On the windward coaſt a conſiderable part of the cargo of ſlaves is procured by open boats. Theſe boats are continually beating about, and watching the ſignals made upon the ſhore. They proceed to the diſtance of twenty or thirty leagues, and are often abſent for three weeks from the ſhip. During this time, they are expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, night and day, which becomes frequently the occaſion of their death. Some of theſe boats are upſet, and the ſeamen loſt.

Others go up the rivers, and are abſent for an equal time. The days are exceſſively hot, and the dews are exceſſively cold and heavy. Thoſe, who are ſent upon this ſervice, are conſidered as devoted. Some never return with the boats. The reſt come on board, and often die.

This mortality is to be attributed to two cauſes; partly to the *uncertainty* of the trade, which makes the long and conſtant uſe of theſe boats ſo neceſſary; and partly to the *climate*.

In the trade propoſed, no ſuch *uncertainty* would be found. The ſeaſons for the different crops, (not like the ſeaſons for human fleſh) would be periodical and regular. Store-houſes would be built at convenient places. The natives

natives up the river would bring down their produce in their canoes. The uſe of open boats would in this reſpect be precluded, and one of the cauſes of the preſent loſs would be removed.

With reſpect to the climate, it requires but little knowledge or experience to ſay, that it may be ſubjected to human art. Other countries, now civilized, were formerly inhoſpitable to ſtrangers, but have become habitable by all. Such would be the caſe with the regions of Africa in the new intercourſe pointed out. For if the country, which is now a foreſt, were cleared; if the lands were put into cultivation, if the ſwamps were drained, and ſuch other events were to take place, as would be the certain effects of eſtabliſhing the trade propoſed, the cauſe of this mortality to ſtrangers would gradually decreaſe, the dews would be moderated, the rains and tornadoes become leſs frequent and violent, and the climate be as healthy as any other in any region of the globe.

Other cauſes of the loſs, which the ſtate experiences in her ſeamen by the proſecution of the trade, will be found both upon the coaſt and on the middle paſſage.

The firſt of theſe may be traced in inſurrections, in conſequence of which ſeveral of them have loſt their lives.

The ſecond in the communication of thoſe diſorders, with which the ſlaves are attacked. Among theſe is principally the flux, which is contagious, and which ſeveral of the ſeamen, who are often obliged to be among them, cannot poſſibly eſcape.

The above two cauſes, it is evident, could have no exiſtence in the trade propoſed, as the commodities, which the veſſels would then carry, could neither riſe up againſt, nor ſpread an infection among their crews.

A third may be found in that barbarous and oppreſſive treatment, which has been deſcribed. This treatment occaſions the death of ſome, and renders others incapable of purſuing the ſame line of life on their return home. This cauſe would immediately be removed, as it is peculiar, and wholly to be attributed to the *nature* of this execrable trade.

trade. It is a fact, that men have embarked in it, who have been conſidered as men of humanity, and that the ſame people in a little time have been totally altered, and diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of brutes. Nor is the change wonderful. The unbounded power, which the captains of ſlave veſſels poſſeſs, could be exerciſed but by few with propriety, and is in general too much for the human mind to bear, without degenerating into tyranny and oppreſſion. The ſcenes too, which they muſt conſtantly be accuſtomed to behold, harden the heart, rob it of its finer feelings, and at length create a ferocity that, accompanied with the other effects, renders them rather monſters than men.

The fourth is to be traced in bad living. The crews of theſe veſſels have not only to ſtruggle with the diſadvantages deſcribed, but additionally with thoſe of hunger and thirſt, which render them emaciated and weak, and conſpire, with other cauſes, to pull them down, and to ſubdue them. They are in general *half ſtarved*, and are often reduced to the neceſſity of begging their victuals of the ſlaves. The latter, with a generoſity and commiſeration, that muſt ever be the ſevereſt cenſure on their enſlavers, convey to them privately through the gratings the ſolicited relief.

Water too, in a quantity ſufficient to ſatisfy their thirſt, is ſcarcely to be obtained. A gun-barrel is carried to the topmaſt head, and ſuſpended there. The ſailor, who wants to drink, is obliged to fetch it down. He then puts it into a caſk of water, and applying his mouth to the muzzle, ſucks the liquid up. When he has done with it, he carries it to its former place. Many, who are ſick and infirm, go without their water, or ſuffer as long as they can, ſooner than attempt to fetch the inſtrument for obtaining it in their feeble ſtate.

This prohibition of a ſufficient quantity of water and proviſions, the want of which greatly impoveriſhes their blood, and renders them more ſuſceptible of impreſſion from the various cauſes of diſeaſe, is wholly to be aſcribed to the nature of the trade: for the time which a veſſel may ſtay upon the coaſt, or be upon the middle paſſage,

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is ſo *uncertain*, and the number on board to be daily ſupported ſo *great*, that the officers are under the neceſſity of acting with the parſimony deſcribed.

The fifth originates in the following manner: When the ſlaves are brought on board, the ſeamen, to make room for them, are turned out of their apartments between the decks. During their ſtay in the rivers, a place of retreat is made for them, but this, on their departure from the coaſt, is obliged to be taken down. From this period they either ſleep on the open deck, or in the tops of the veſſel. In ſome veſſels they are permitted to ſleep in the boat, which is ſuſpended under the booms, with a tarpawling over them uſually full of holes. But in general they are left deſtitute of a covering, and are expoſed through the whole of the middle paſſage to all the inclemency of the weather. If it rains, they muſt unavoidably be wet, and in that condition they muſt unavoidably continue, as they have no place of ſhelter, in which they can put their heads. From this bad lodging, and this continual expoſure to colds and damps, and ſuddenly afterwards to a burning ſun, fevers originate, which carry many of them off; and as to ſome of thoſe who ſurvive, ſuch confirmed rheumatiſms are the conſequence, as to render them afterwards burthenſome to themſelves, and unſerviceable to the ſtate.

Nor is this the only effect, which this continual viciſſitude from heat to extreme dampneſs and cold, has upon ſome of the ſurviving crew. Inflammatory fevers, as I obſerved before, neceſſarily attack them. Theſe fevers affect the whole frame. The eye, from the tenderneſs and delicacy of its texture, and its ſuſceptibility beyond that of any other organ, feels the inflammation moſt. This inflammation terminates either in diſperſion or ſuppuration. In the firſt inſtance, the eyes are ſaved. In the latter, they are loſt. Thus many of thoſe who ſurvive, though they afterwards regain their health, are rendered incapable, in conſequence of the loſs of their ſight, of purſuing a naval life. This cauſe, as productive of the two different effects now mentioned, is to be found only in the trade in ſlaves.

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The ſixth, and laſt which I ſhall mention, is the great length of time in which they are made to live upon ſalt proviſions without any intermiſſion, indulgencies being ſeldom or ever given them, as in other trades. The reaſon of ſuch a niggardly conduct in their employers is this, that the ſlave trade is ſo much more hazardous than the reſt, that every pitiful ſaving muſt be made. Theſe ſalt proviſions that are equally adminiſtered to them in health or ſickneſs, vitiate the juices. Every ſcar, that is accidentally raiſed upon their fleſh, becomes an ulcer. Theſe ulcers are hardly ever to be cured; and ſo affected have been the bones of many of them with theſe ſcorbutick diſorders, that a probe has been put through them with eaſe; and ſo thin their blood, that it has diſcharged itſelf at the ulcerated places. In this unhappy ſtate, many of them, as I have obſerved before, are diſcharged in the Weſt Indies, and die there, while ſome of thoſe, who are ſo fortunate to get home, become incurable.

It is clear, that if the trade propoſed were eſtabliſhed, this cauſe would be immediately removed. The whole length of the voyage would be only five months. Freſh proviſions could be afforded them on the coaſt: and if a ſeaman fell ſick, he would ſoon be carried to ſea, (not as in a ſlave veſſel, to encounter with new and fatal diſorders on the middle paſſage) but in a wholeſome ſhip, ſoon to experience the effects of his native air.

From the ſcurvy then, as ariſing from hence, and from the flux, rheumatiſm, and other complaints, as ariſing from the cauſes aſſigned, ſuch a complication of diſorders is fixed upon ſome of thoſe that return, that it is a doubt whether the ſlave trade does not even render unſerviceable more than it deſtroys: and a perſon need only ſee the crews of the ſlave veſſels land, and trace them to their reſpective homes, or viſit the infirmaries of the place, to be convinced of the melancholy truth of this aſſertion.

Theſe being cauſes then, which are chiefly peculiar to the ſlave trade, or ſuch as would be removed by its abolition, it is clear, that any veſſels, going to the ſame coaſt for different commodities, could not poſſibly be liable to an equal loſs. As a proof of this, (for in a caſe where ſuch

ſuch oppoſition may be expected, I will not even hazard a juſt inference where a proof can be obtained) I ſhall ſubmit to the inſpection of the reader the following liſt of ten *wood* veſſels, taken promiſcuouſly, as they returned home to the ſame port, from the year 1781 to the Auguſt of the year 1787.

Ships Names.	*Number of Men.*	*Number of Men loſt.*
Tryal	12	2
Lively	20	2
Rebecca	20	7
Lyon	28	0
Rebecca	16	2
Cleveland	8	2
African Queen	24	2
St. Andrew	8	0
Cleveland	8	0
Hector	20	3
	164	20

It is manifeſt from hence, that as ſeveral of the cauſes have been taken away, ſo ſeveral of the effects have been removed. The loſs in the ſlave veſſels from the ſame port is nearly a *fourth* of the whole number employed. The loſs in theſe is not quite an *eighth*. In nine hundred and ten ſeamen, employed in the former, * *two hundred and ſixteen* were among the dead. In nine hundred and ten, if employed in the latter, only *one hundred and ten* would have periſhed.

But there are two or three obſervations, which I muſt yet make. The ſlave veſſels were upon an average ſcarcely ſeven months upon the coaſt. The wood veſſels were from five to fifteen, or on an average nearly ten. The latter circumſtance is of great importance, for if the trade alluded to were eſtabliſhed, no veſſel would have any neceſſity to be longer at the moſt than three: and it ſurely makes a conſiderable difference, whether men, as in the

* This is the number actually on the dead liſt, but it does not include the maimed, the blind, the unſerviceable, or ſuch as died after their diſcharge in the Weſt-Indies or Great Britain, in conſequence of the trade.

preſent

preſent caſe, are expoſed to an unhealthy climate for ten months without intermiſſion, or whether, being employed in the new trade, which would be regular, for the ſame period, they would go there and back twice in the time, and have two different intervals of refreſhment on their native ſhore.

I muſt obſerve too, that the crews of the latter, on account of the preſent uncertainty of the trade in the natural productions of the country, were obliged to be up and down the rivers, to be much expoſed, and to partake of one of the cauſes of the loſs ſuſtained in the former. Now, if the trade propoſed were eſtabliſhed, it is clear, that this cauſe alſo would be removed; and that the veſſels of the merchants would be then nearly in the ſame circumſtances as thoſe in his Majeſty's ſervice, which are ſtationed from three to five months only on this coaſt, and have no neceſſity for beating up and down, or expoſing their crews continually to the inclemency of the weather.

The loſs which the crews of theſe experience is but trifling, and only ſuch as they would have experienced, had they ſtaid at home, as will appear by the following account.

A LIST of ſuch of His MAJESTY's SHIPS
As have been ſtationed on the Coaſt of Africa
Since the laſt Peace,
With the Loſs which they ſuſtained in their reſpective Voyages.

Ships Names.	*Number of Men.*	*Number of Men loſt.*
Race Horſe	100	0
Bull Dog	100	5
Grampus *	300	3
Grampus	300	
Grampus	300	
Nautilus	100	2
Nautilus	100	
	1300	10

* The Grampus has made three voyages to the Coaſt ſince the peace, and the Nautilus two.

It

It is clear from this account, that the loſs, which the crews of his Majeſty's ſhips have ſuſtained upon this coaſt, is very inconſiderable. Notwithſtanding this, they kept their watch, went into the country for wood and water, cut down the former with their own hands, navigated the veſſel, and were frequently expoſed. I would now aſk what the crew of a merchant's veſſel, if this regular trade were eſtabliſhed, would, if we exclude the reception and diſcharge of the cargo, have more to do?

In ſhort, it is clear from the facts and obſervations laid down already, (and it will be ſtill more evident, if we conſider that the lands of Africa could not be cleared and cultivated without greatly improving the climate) that if a regular trade were eſtabliſhed in the natural productions of the place, and purſued with as much zeal and alacrity as we have embarked in that of ſlaves, this country would derive an ineſtimable benefit from the change. The ſeamen employed in it, would not only be cheriſhed and preſerved, but would be returned to their native country in health and vigour, in caſe of an emergency, in a few weeks:—whereas the ſlave trade not only *cannot ſupport itſelf* by any naval ſubjects, which it attempts to rear, but *deſtroys thoſe that have been reared and ſupported in other trades.* To which it muſt be added, that in caſe of an emergency, but little benefit (comparatively ſpeaking) is to be derived from the ſervices of thoſe that ſurvive; and that it converts many of thoſe, whom it returns, from the moſt uſeful to the moſt unſerviceable members of the ſtate.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

The advocates for the ſlave trade have never offered but two of its appendages, as political arguments for its continuance. The firſt of theſe, "*that the ſlave trade* "*is a nurſery for our ſeamen*," has been canvaſſed in the preceding chapters. The ſecond, therefore, upon which an equal ſtreſs has been laid, is the only one now remaining for diſcuſſion.

This argument ſhall be given in the moſt diſtinct and advantageous manner in which I am able to convey it.

"There are two branches of the ſlave trade. By means "of the firſt we ſupply the inhabitants of our own colonies "with ſlaves, and by means of the ſecond the coloniſts of "foreign nations. The latter generally pay for them in "hard dollars. Theſe dollars are brought home, and de-"poſited in our bank. Thus the nation becomes enriched, "and the ſecond branch of the trade now mentioned is "peculiarly *politick*."

But I reply, if gold or ſilver be objects of ſuch national advantage, aboliſh the ſlave trade. Open a trade to Africa in the natural productions of the country. The gold, which is now picked up in ſuch ſcanty fragments, might be then found in abundance; and you might receive it in quantities, not only equivalent to the manufactures, which would pay for ſuch of the ſlaves as are carried to the Spaniards or the French, but in a much greater proportion.

This, I apprehend, would have been a ſatisfactory anſwer to the argument advanced; but this branch of the trade is really ſo bad in its tendency, ſo fatal in its conſequences, and ſo truly impolitick, that I cannot paſs it over without ſome farther remarks.

It is clear, that every lot of ſlaves which we additionally import, or cauſe to be imported into their colonies, enables them to clear an additional piece of ground; every piece ſo gained, ſupplies additional produce. This produce employs additional ſeamen; and the great number of naval ſubjects, which we thus additionally raiſe for an enemy,

enemy, has a tendency *(which is not to be put into competition with the profits of the ſlave trade)* to diminiſh our naval importance.

But the evil does not ſtop here. The French, from a variety of cauſes, have been able to underſell us in this produce at the different markets of Europe. This has given birth to an additional fleet of ſhips employed in the exporting of it to other countries. Now, if we conſider that French ſhips carry nearly double the number of ſeamen which ours of the ſame burthen do, we ſhall find that we are enabling our reputed enemies, by this branch of the trade, to diſpute with us the ſovereignty of the ſeas.

It is well known, that both the Spaniards and the French depend ſolely upon their American poſſeſſions for the recruit of their marine. It is as much an eſtabliſhed maxim among them, as that the fiſheries, if properly encouraged, would be the compleateſt nurſery for our own. For this purpoſe, the former have opened their ports duty free for the reception of ſlaves * for ten years. For this purpoſe the latter not only offer a bounty by the *ton* to the proprietors of ſuch veſſels as import them into the *uncultivated* parts of St. Domingo, but even afterwards a bounty by the *head* on every imported ſlave. To this *politick* conduct in our enemies, and to this *impolitick* conduct in us, who have ſuffered our own ſubjects to ſupply them at ſo publick a diſadvantage to ourſelves, is to be attributed one of the cauſes that rendered them ſo formidable at ſea during the late war; for the reader muſt be informed, that ſince the year 1760, we have been aſſiſting them with an unaccountable infanity to add to the ſtrength of their marine.

This appendage then of the trade calls aloud for the immediate interference of the legiſlature. It is even more *detrimental* than the former. For we not only *increaſe* the naval ſtrength of our *enemies*, but at the ſame time we *diminiſh our own*. This inverſe ratio of loſs and gain, which in their ſcale of naval importance is either way ſo much gain, and in ours either way ſo much loſs, is of the

* Beginning in 1786.

moſt ſerious concern, and the effects, which it may produce in a courſe of years, ſo alarming, that they cannot be anticipated but with pain.

Though I may be thought to have ſaid ſufficient on this point, yet I cannot relinquiſh it, impreſſed as I am with a ſenſe of its importance to this country, without ſubmitting the following eſtimate to the reader.

Let us ſuppoſe that we are the means of taking only *fifteen hundred* ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa for the uſe of the French and Spaniſh colonies in a given time. It is certain, if we judge from the common rules, which are too accurate to be inapplicable on this occaſion, that *ſix hundred* of them will be loſt in the voyage and ſeaſoning together. There will be left therefore *nine hundred* effective people for the purpoſe of cultivation. Theſe will raiſe one thouſand hogſheads of ſugar every year, employ one new ſhip, and give birth to *twenty-five* ſeamen. This * will be the gain on *nine hundred* effective ſlaves.

On the other hand we are to conſider, that the average number of ſlaves taken in a Britiſh ſhip being three hundred and ſixty, four veſſels will be employed in tranſporting fifteen, or nine hundred *effective* ſlaves, for the uſe of their plantations. The number of ſeamen loſt in theſe, including the dead, and the unſerviceable, will be *ſixty*.

Thus in every importation of *nine hundred* effective ſlaves, there is a gain to the reputed enemies of this country of *twenty-five* ſeamen, and a loſs to us of *ſixty*; that is, a real gain to the former of *eighty-five*, beſides the additional ſeamen employed in tranſporting the ſugar from the ports of France to other nations. Now, if we conſider that we are the means of importing annually *ſeveral thouſand* ſlaves into the French and Spaniſh colonies, we ſhall more eaſily ſee the abſurdity, if not the political wickedneſs, of our preſent conduct.

To ſum up the whole. If we ſeriouſly conſider the appendages of the trade, which have been falſely held out as political arguments for its continuance; if we conſider that the trade propoſed would have a different ten-

* This ſubject will be farther inveſtigated in Chapter the 4th of the ſecond part of this work.

dency,

dency, and be followed with different effects; if we conſider that it would not interfere with the productions of our preſent colonies; that it would be attended with emolument to numerous individuals, and at the ſame time with ſubſtantial benefits to the ſtate; and if we additionally conſider, that it might be the means of averting thoſe heavy judgments, which the blood of the murdered Africans will undoubtedly bring upon us, it will appear, that there is *no one* political argument yet adduced, why the ſlave trade ſhould be *continued:* There are *many and important ones* why it ſhould be *ſuppreſſed.*

End of the Firſt Part.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

IMPOLICY

OF THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

SECTION I.

THE arguments, which the patrons of the Slave trade have been accuſtomed to offer in its defence, may be divided into two kinds. The firſt comprehends the *poſitive advantages* that reſult from the proſecution of this trade; the ſecond *the fatal conſequences of its abolition.* The former have been examined already. The latter are to become the ſubject of the remaining part of the work.

It is ſaid firſt, that if the ſlave trade is aboliſhed, the planters will be in want of cultivators for their lands, and that many other melancholy conſequences will reſult to them, as well as to the *ſlaves* and the *iſlands*, from the abolition of the trade.

I ſhall ſhew firſt, that it is in the power of the planters, if they pleaſe, to do without freſh ſupplies from the coaſt: I ſhall then ſhew, that if the importation of ſlaves is prohibited, no ſuch want will be found, but on the other hand, that the number of cultivators will *increaſe:* and, laſtly, that both the planters, the ſlaves, and the iſlands, will be *benefited* by the change.

To ſhew the truth of the firſt poſition, I ſhall have recourſe to the following facts.

In the year 1771, a gentleman, now in England, became the proprietor of an eſtate, ſituated near Montego Bay, in the pariſh of Hanover, *Jamaica.* The number of ſlaves, at that time upon it, amounted to *two hundred and ſeventy-ſix*, all of whom had been *born in the ſame iſland.* In the year 1786, after fifteen years had elapſed, the number was found the *ſame:* nor had any purchaſe whatever been made within that period, nor was any at the end of it neceſſary.

In the year 1754, another gentleman ſucceeded to an eſtate in the ſame pariſh and iſland. It contained, at that time, *two hundred and thirty-three* ſlaves. By his laſt account, dated in June 1786, the number appeared to have increaſed, without any ſupplies from the coaſt, to *three hundred and fourteen*, though *fourteen* had been ſent to other eſtates, or manumitted.

In the ſame iſland are ſix other eſtates, which have been in a ſimilar ſituation, and for the truth of which I will become accountable, if required.

The firſt of theſe has ſupported itſelf, independently of the ſlave trade, for *twenty* years, and from no other cauſe, than that the owner, having thought it more to his intereſt that his ſlaves ſhould increaſe by *birth* than by *purchaſe*, made his arrangements accordingly.

The ſecond and third, ſituated in the pariſh of Clarendon, have had no occaſion for a ſingle recruit from Africa for many years.

The fourth, in the pariſh of St. James, found a reſource within itſelf, and by the following means. The proprietor made it a rule to releaſe every woman from all obligation to labour, as ſoon as ſhe had a certain number of

of children, fit to be put to work. The conſequence of this was, that his ſlaves were continually on the *increaſe*.

The fifth and ſixth, ſituated in the pariſh of St. John, and vale of Guanaboa, on account of the humane diſpoſition of the overſeer, and the moderate ſhare of labour which he impoſes upon the ſlaves, have no neceſſity for ſupplies.

The above is an account of ſuch plantations as can be ſpecified, and proved beyond the poſſibility of refutation, to have ſubſiſted independently of the ſlave trade in the iſland of *Jamaica*. Many others are to be found there in the ſame predicament. But as ſituation, climate, and a variety of other circumſtances (beyond thoſe of gentle treatment) may be ſaid to have contributed to bring them into ſo deſirable a ſtate, it will be proper to ſee if in other iſlands ſimilar inſtances can be found.

In the year 1773, in the pariſh of Nichola Town and iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, was a plantation, which contained at that time *two hundred and ten* ſlaves. The proportion of females upon it was but very ſmall, when compared with that of the males. This circumſtance was much againſt it in point of the increaſe of its cultivators. It had, however, two advantages. The manager of it was an eaſy humane man, and his wife a diſcreet and tender nurſe. From theſe circumſtances alone, the number had increaſed in the year 1779 to *two hundred and twenty-eight*, and in the year 1781, when the gentleman, who undertakes to authenticate the fact, quitted the iſland, it had become, without any ſupply from the coaſt, *two hundred and thirty-four*.

In the ſame iſland, but in the adjoining pariſh of Cayon, is a plantation, that has ſupported itſelf in the ſame manner. The ſlaves upon it have been worked with method, and treated tolerably well. In the year 1765 they amounted to *one hundred and fifty-eight*: in the year 1766 to an *hundred and ſixty*: and in the year 1781, by means of generation, to *one hundred and ſeventy-two*.

In the iſland of *Barbadoes* is a plantation, the preſent proprietor of which came into poſſeſſion of it in the year 1774. At that time it contained *one hundred and nineteen* ſlaves. *Five* have been purchaſed ſince. In the year

1784 *twenty-ſeven* were added to it, by the bequeſt of a relation, who then died; ſo that the number, by extraordinary means, amounted to *one hundred and fifty-one*. By a ſurvey in February 1788, it appeared, that they had increaſed, without purchaſe, to *one hundred and ſixty-one*, though *three* had been ſold, *three* had been killed by the hurricane in the year 1780, and *three* more had apparently died in conſequence of it.

On another plantation, in the ſame iſland, were reckoned in the December of the year 1774 *one hundred and fifteen* ſlaves. In the year 1777 it received an addition, by purchaſe, of *thirty-two*. This raiſed the number to *one hundred and forty-ſeven*. Their preſent number, by means of generation, is *one hundred and ſixty-three*, and it had been ſtill greater, had not *five* been loſt in the ſame hurricane as the former.

I muſt not forget to obſerve here, that the ſlaves upon theſe eſtates were treated with great humanity, and that much praiſe is due to the proprietor of the former, who came forward, in the moſt diſintereſted manner, to ſubſtantiate the facts.

There is a ſmall eſtate in the ſame iſland, which has alſo experienced an increaſe by the ſame means. In the year 1764 it was let upon leaſe with *thirty* ſlaves upon it. The treatment which they have uniformly experienced ſince that period has been humane and mild: the conſequence has been this, that no recruit has been purchaſed for the purpoſe of keeping up their ſtock, and that their preſent number is *forty-four*. In the ſame iſland are ſeveral other eſtates in a ſimilar ſituation.

In the pariſh of Middle Iſland and Iſland of *Antigua*, the proprietor of a conſiderable eſtate, in conſequence of his humane directions, and a determination not to make any purchaſes from the coaſt, has had no ſupply (if we except a few ſlaves taken from a diſmantled plantation) for *thirty* years.

In the iſland of *Dominique* is an eſtate, on which the ſlaves have been ſo much *increaſed* by humane treatment, as to have rendered any ſupply *unneceſſary*.

In the iſland of *St. Domingo* is a plantation, belonging to the reſpectable houſe of Fouache, of Havre. Theſe gentlemen

gentlemen came to the laudable reſolution not to oppreſs their ſlaves. The quantity of work, which was accordingly given to *five hundred* of them to perform, was only ſuch as *three hundred and fifty* would have been obliged to execute on other eſtates at the ſame time. The effects of this humane regulation are now viſible. The ſlaves *multiply*, and the plantation *proſpers*.

In each of the Daniſh iſlands of *St. Thomas* and *St. Croix*, an eſtate can be pointed out, which has ſupported itſelf by *natural means*. That in the firſt, when the gentleman who communicated this intelligence left the iſlands, was in poſſeſſion of Monſieur de Mary: that in the ſecond of Baron Shimmelman. Both theſe were in a very *ſuperiour* ſtate of culture at that time, and had received no ſupplies whatever for many years.

In two of the *Granadillas* are two plantations, that are now in the ſame ſtate. The proprietor of the firſt, when he took poſſeſſion, found that ſeveral of the ſlaves upon it were then old. Notwithſtanding this, and that theſe ſoon died, yet in conſequence of the gentle dominion which he held over them, and his prudent management, ſo many have been born and preſerved, and the lives of the reſt ſo prolonged, that he has always had a ſufficient number for the cultivation of the ſame land, without the purchaſe of any recruit from the coaſt. The other alſo, by the ſame means, has ſupported itſelf independently of the ſlave trade.

I have now mentioned ſeveral * plantations, ſituated

* To this liſt I may add the following extract from a Letter to the Dean of Middleham.—"According to the beſt of my remembrance (ſays "the writer) the following eſtates for about twenty years, whilſt under "the management of *humane and merciful men*, kept up their ſtock of "Negroes by the natural increaſe.—Sir William Fitzherbert's eſtate in "St. Andrews, during the life of Mr. Rolſtone his manager;—three "eſtates of the late Colonel Newton in Chriſt-Church and St. James's; "—the eſtates of the late Mr. Haggat in St. George's and St. Peter's;—"the eſtate of Mr. Graves in St. Lucy's;—the eſtate of the Honourable "William Biſhop in St. Lucy's;—the eſtate of Colonel Maynard in St. "Michael's;—an eſtate of Sir Philip Gibbes, whilſt under his own di-"rection;—the eſtate of Mrs. Ferchuſon in St. Peter's;—the eſtates of "the late Thomas Alleyne, Eſq. during the life of Mr. Rolſtone;—the "eſtate of Mrs. Street during the life of Mr. Johnſtone.—Theſe are all "that I can at preſent recollect."

either

either in the Britiſh, French, or Daniſh iſlands, that have *ſupported themſelves by natural means*, and in which, during the reign of their reſpective proprietors either mentioned or alluded to, no reverſe in the ſcale of their population has been experienced. It is my intention next to refer to ſuch, as in this reſpect have experienced a change, or to ſuch, as being contiguous to each other, but under oppoſite ſyſtems of adminiſtration, have ſhewn viſibly their different effects.

In the pariſh of Cayon and iſland of St. Chriſtopher was a certain plantation, which was under the management of a rigid and auſtere man. He continually harraſſed the ſlaves; making them work with but little intermiſſion for ſix days, and on the *ſeventh* obliging them to be employed in the cultivation of their little ſpots. In conſequence of this *continual obligation to labour, and want of reſt*, the number of cultivators *decreaſed*, and an annual ſupply was neceſſary of about *one* in *ten* to keep up the ſtock. In the year 1763 this diſciplinarian left them, to take upon him the management of a more conſiderable eſtate. He was ſucceeded by a man of an oppoſite character, who indulged the ſlaves with the free uſe of the *Sabbath*, treated them well, and took care of them when ſick. Under his mild adminiſtration (notwithſtanding the ſlaves were all of them native Africans, and notwithſtanding they were but ſparingly fed) the face of things was ſo much altered on that eſtate, that it had no neceſſity, as before, for any farther ſupplies from the coaſt.

In the ſame pariſh and iſland is a plantation, the ſituation of which has been exactly the reverſe of the former. In the year 1766, the proprietor, who reſided upon it, was in the poſſeſſion of *an hundred and fifty-ſeven ſlaves*. He worked them judiciouſly. He fed them well. He treated them with tenderneſs and care. In the year 1772 he died; when it was found, that he had raiſed their number only in ſix years to *one hundred and eighty*, without any purchaſes from the coaſt. His ſucceſſor, however, purſued a different plan. Let us mark the conſequence.—His ſlaves, in the year 1781, were reduced to *one hundred and fifty-ſeven*, ſo that in nine years all the efforts of his predeceſſor were undone.

In

In the iſland of St. Domingo is an eſtate which has experienced a ſimilar change. The owner conſidered himſelf as the father of his ſlaves: he never harraſſed them with exceſſive labour. He fed and treated them well: and ſo mild and gentle was his government, that it became a proverb, "as happy as a ſlave of Gallifet." Thus treated, their increaſe was rapid. About fifteen years ago he died. The preſent proprietor has ſince adopted a different ſyſtem. His ſlaves continually decreaſe, and he loſes by the change of management.

In the iſland of Antigua is another plantation, in which a ſimilar revolution has taken place. It was formerly celebrated for the judicious and indulgent treatment of the ſlaves, that were then upon it. The owner reſided on the ſpot. He ſaw his ſlaves happy. He ſaw them increaſe without purchaſe, and ſo rapidly, that his eſtate was conſidered as overſtocked. Such was the ſituation of affairs under his gentle reign, when he was taken from the world. A different mode of treatment has been ſince introduced. The golden age has been converted into the iron. The ſlaves, nurtured by the foſtering hand of their former proprietor, have fallen off, and the eſtate is now not only in want of an annual ſupply, but is involved in debt.

In the ſame iſland are two other plantations, which border upon each other. The owner of one of them long ago adopted the ſyſtem of *immediate exertion*. He purchaſed chiefly males. He worked them hard, and with ſeverity. The proprietor of the ſecond declared in favour of the oppoſite plan. He proportioned the ſexes accordingly, and he treated them well. The effects of the two different ſyſtems of adminiſtration will now be ſeen. The firſt has been in want of an annual ſupply. The latter has ſupported itſelf for more than *forty years*, and the ſlaves upon it have become ſo numerous, that they not only do the whole buſineſs of the eſtate, but are let out at taſk-work, to the great emolument of the proprietor, on other plantations.

I have now given a ſhort hiſtory of no leſs than *twenty-ſix* plantations. From theſe, and others in a ſimilar ſituation, it will appear, that where there have been any favourable

favourable circumſtances, ſuch as the proper proportion of the ſexes in one, gentle treatment in a ſecond, any indulgence in point of labour in a third, and the like, *there* the ſlaves *have uniformly increaſed:* that where the contrary have taken place, *there* they have decreaſed, and *have been in want of ſupplies.* That the ſame eſtate, which under a mild adminiſtration has been overſtocked, has, under an oppoſite ſyſtem, annually loſt a part of its labourers: that the ſame, which during a reign of rigour has been conſtantly requiring recruits, has in that of humanity ſupported itſelf for a while, and at length precluded the neceſſity of a ſupply: and that in certain plantations contiguous to each other, ſharing the ſame climate, and ſituated on the ſame kind of ſoil, but under oppoſite forms of government, the one has been perpetually loſing its labourers, the other has been overſtocked: In ſhort, that it is *at the option* of the planter, whether ſupplies *are requiſite or not*; certain regulations producing the one, and the contrary the oppoſite effects.

Indeed, the very idea, that the planters cannot proceed without freſh ſupplies from the coaſt, is repugnant to reaſon.

For let us firſt, for a moment, look upon the unfortunate Africans in the light of *cattle.* Is it not in the power of any *farmer*, who prefers breeding to purchaſing, to ſupply himſelf with animals of labour from his own ſtock?

Let us now conſider them as *men.* It is an invariable law, that any ſociety of people, under common advantages, muſt at leaſt keep up their number, if not increaſe; otherwiſe Providence, in calling the human ſpecies into life, muſt have defeated his own deſign. What then ſhould hinder the Africans, peculiarly prolifick in their nature, carried to a climate ſimilar to that which they have left, and treated with common humanity, from continuing their own ſpecies, and precluding the neceſſity of a ſupply? In ſhort, in whatever point of view we conſider it, the poſition is equally abſurd.

Mr. Long, the author of the Hiſtory of Jamaica, who more than once takes an opportunity of ridiculing the ſame notion, has even gone ſo far, as to reduce the probability of the increaſe of the Africans in the colonies to ſtated rules.

rules.—" If (ſays he) the number of hogſheads, made " on a plantation, exceeds or even equals the whole " aggregate of negroes employed upon it, but *few children* " *will be brought up on ſuch an eſtate*, whatever number " may be born; for the mothers will not have ſufficient " time to take due care of them: and if they are put " under the charge of ſome elderly woman or nurſe, as " the cuſtom is in many places, it cannot be ſuppoſed that " they meet with the ſame tenderneſs, as might be ex- " pected from their parents. But where the proportion of " annual produce is about half an hogſhead for every " negroe, there they will, in all likelihood, *increaſe very* " *rapidly*; and *not much leſs ſo*, where the ratio is of two " hogſheads to every three negroes, which I take to be " a good mean proportion: agreeably to which, an eſtate, " making communibus annis two hundred hogſheads, " ought to muſter on its liſt (old and young) three hun- " dred negroes; and if it makes three hundred hogſheads, " four hundred and fifty ſuch negroes, and ſo on. An " eſtate ſo handed may not only, cæteris paribus, *ſave the* " *expence of buying recruits*, but may every year *afford* " *ſome addition* to the firſt number, of which I have " known *inconteſtable examples in Jamaica.*"*

But this, I apprehend, will be found ſufficient. For when the reader reflects on the number of eſtates now ſpecified, that have ſupported themſelves, independently of the ſlave trade; when he conſiders the uniform increaſe in ſome, the revolutions that have happened in others, and refers them to their proper cauſes; or when he conſults only his own unbiaſſed reaſon, he cannot but ſee the inconſiſtency of the argument, which but too generally prevails, " that the planters cannot proceed without freſh " ſupplies from the coaſt."

SECTION II.

Having now ſhewn the truth of the firſt poſition by means of undeniable facts, I ſhall inquire into the proba-

* Long. Vol. II. Page 437, 438.

bility

bility of the firſt conſequence, which, it is ſaid, will be experienced in the iſlands from the abolition of the trade in ſlaves.

It is ſaid firſt, that "if the importation of ſlaves is "prohibited, the planters will be in want of cultivators "for their lands."

This firſt effect will be beſt ſeen by tracing the different *cauſes* of the diminution of ſlaves in the colonies, and the *effect* which the abolition will have upon each of theſe.

It is well known, that many of the proprietors of poſt-horſes, in this country adopt the following plan. They purchaſe a horſe at a certain price, and at a certain age. They drive him through twice the work which he ought to perform in a given time. If he laſts for a determined period, they conſider themſelves as repaid with profit. If, after this, he has not a leg to ſtand upon, they do not care.

This mode of reaſoning, which is execrable even when applied to the brute creation, is in the colonies put into execution on the human ſpecies. It has been often calculated by ſome of the planters there, whether it is more to their intereſt to work out a ſlave, by an uncommon impoſition of labour, in five or ſix years, and ſupply his place by a new recruit from the coaſt, to be worked up and ſucceeded in the ſame manner, or to breed from their preſent ſtock, and to work them with moderation. Some have wiſely adopted the latter plan; but the former has been but too generally followed.

It is clear, that on all thoſe plantations where this inhuman ſyſtem prevails, it is impoſſible for the planter to do without freſh ſupplies. His whole plan is confeſſedly againſt it. He has made his calculations accordingly. He has ſtated the time, at which human nature is capable of ſuſtaining itſelf under his taſk of drudgery and his laſh. This diabolical determination, to employ new generations of men from the coaſt of Africa, and to work them up in a ſtated time, inſtead of rearing them by natural means, and working them with moderation, is one grand ſource of the neceſſity for the preſent annual ſupplies.

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The firſt effect, which the * abolition of the ſlave trade muſt have upon the unfeeling planters deſcribed, would be, that their execrable calculations would be ſtopped. No new generations of men would be then to be had, as before. They muſt immediately change their plan. They muſt breed. They muſt find that reſource within themſelves, which their avarice has taught them to reject; and they muſt immediately turn a ſyſtem of calculated oppreſſion, and murder, into that of lenity, tenderneſs, and preſervation.

Such is the effect which the abolition of the ſlave trade muſt have upon this cauſe of the diminution of ſlaves in the colonies. There are other eſtates, however, where theſe calculations are not made, which are yet in want of ſupplies.

In almoſt all of them it will be found, that but little care is taken, or can be taken, according to the preſent ſyſtem of things in the colonies, of thoſe infants that are born. An incredible number of theſe annually periſh, who, if preſerved, would have been ſubſtantial ſupplies.

The diſorder, which takes many of them off, is the *locked jaw*. This ariſes from various cauſes, but is particularly chargeable upon the comfortleſs ſituation of the mother, who is deprived of neceſſaries, and of the power of paying that proper attention to her child, in preſerving it from cold and damps, which its infant-ſituation requires; for it is a remarkable fact, that this diſorder paſſes by other infants in the colonies, whether black or white, of whom proper care has been taken.

It is uſual for them too, before they are weaned, to accompany their mothers to the field, who tie them behind their backs, and carry them through the labour of the day, or leave them in a furrow. Thus expoſed to a vertical ſun, and afterwards to the dews of the evening, or to very heavy rains, and having received hitherto but a ſlender and unwholeſome ſupport from the breaſts of their overheated mothers, many of them are taken off. Thoſe, who ſurvive the weaning, are left neglected at home, or

* I mean not only the abolition of the Slave Trade by the Britiſh nation, but a total prohibition of the importation of ſlaves into the colonies from any other quarter.

are

are put under the care of an old and infirm woman, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have that affection for them, which their parents have, and who is often incapable of performing her allotted taſk. By theſe, and other means, ſome of thoſe, who have eſcaped for a little time, are added to the infant dead.

The effect, which the abolition of the ſlave trade muſt have on this ſecond cauſe, would be this. Every care and attention would be paid to the rearing of the new generation. Convenient rooms would be built on each eſtate for the accommodation of the women in the laſt ſtage of their pregnancy. The mother would have more time to herſelf, and more indulgencies. In ſome eſtates ſhe would have, perhaps, a releaſe from all future obligation to labour, after ſhe had reared her third child; in others ſhe might receive a donation. Theſe regulations, if put into force, would immediately endear the proprietor to the parents; would prove a conſtant incitement to their emulation; and would be the means of preſerving a great number of recruits, who would otherwiſe have annually periſhed.

A third cauſe of the diminution of ſlaves in the colonies is the *very ſcanty allowance of proviſion*, which is given them on many plantations. It is too general a cuſtom to ſpread almoſt every acre, that is plantable, with canes. But little land, and even that the worſt, is allotted for proviſions for the ſlaves. Thus the labourers, whoſe preſervation ſhould have been the firſt and greateſt object, are left deſtitute of ſufficient nutriment and ſupport.

A fourth is the *inceſſant and intolerable labour* which they are often obliged to undergo. Perhaps their proprietor is extravagant, or involved. To ſupport his luxuries on the one hand, or to clear his incumbrances on the other, he has recourſe to the ſinews of his ſlaves. Uncommon exertions are deemed neceſſary for the purpoſe: and if his ſituation ſhould not be ſimilar to that which I have ſuppoſed, certain it is, that too often the reputation of the manager, and his continuance in office, depend more, in the eye of his employer, on the *number of hogſheads* of ſugar annually made, than on the preſervation of the ſlaves.

A fifth

A fifth cauſe is *cruel and ſevere uſage*, ſuch as the conſtant application of the laſh, confinement, torture, and other barbarous treatment, whether for real or imaginary faults. This depends, in ſome meaſure, on the diſcipline of the colony, on the abſence of the proprietor from his eſtate, or on the unfeeling diſpoſition of the manager, who has none but a temporary intereſt, and who of courſe cannot be concerned in any future advantage, which might accrue to the proprietor by the preſervation of his ſlaves. Under ſuch managers, (ſays a ſenſible writer) "an increaſe is not more to be expected, "than an increaſe from a flock of ſheep, *if a wolf were* "*to be the ſhepherd.*"

In conſequence then of the three cauſes that have been mentioned laſt, namely, a ſcanty allowance of food, inceſſant and intolerable labour, and cruel and ſevere uſage, either exiſting ſeparately or conjointly on an eſtate, ſeveral of the ſlaves, whoſe lives have become a burthen to them, deſtroy themſelves. Others fly into the woods, where, expoſed to the cold of the night, attacked by the pangs of hunger and thirſt, and lacerated in their bodies by the prickly teeth with which every ſhrub is armed in that country, they ſoon periſh: while thoſe, who by vigilance, terror, or other means, are retained at home, are neceſſarily worn out in their prime, and their lives ſhortened. Theſe circumſtances therefore occaſion, and muſt ever occaſion, as long as they exiſt, a neceſſity for annual ſupplies.

The effect, which the abolition of the ſlave trade muſt neceſſarily have upon thoſe who feed, work, or treat their ſlaves as above deſcribed, is evident. Proviſion, which has hitherto been the laſt, muſt become the firſt conſideration with the planter. A part of the land, occupied by canes, muſt be appropriated to the ſupport of his ſlaves, and a ſufficient quantity of the neceſſaries of life muſt be allowed them. Regular hours of reſt, and machines of labour muſt be introduced. The laſh, that was formerly lifted up for imaginary faults, or for the indulgence of paſſion and caprice, muſt be kept down. Puniſhments muſt be more commenſurate to the offence. A ſyſtem of treatment more moderate and humane muſt be adopted. It muſt immediately ſtrike the proprietor, that if his ſlave

ſhould fall by ill-judged ſeverity or neglect, it will be long before he can replace him.

There are various other cauſes of the diminution of ſlaves in the colonies, all of which muſt be equally annihilated in their turn. New regulations, adapted to the ſuppreſſion of each, muſt immediately take place. I ſay "*muſt* take place," becauſe the planter, unleſs he adopts them, will have no other proſpect, than that of inevitable ruin. And that he will madly throw himſelf from the precipice, when he can avoid it with *ſolid advantage* to himſelf, is a poſition too ridiculous to be admitted.

If theſe regulations then, or ſimilar to theſe, ſhould take place, as they inevitably muſt, when every proſpect of a future ſupply is taken away; if population ſhould be really encouraged; if a leſs proportion of labour ſhould be required, food more plentifully ſupplied, and a ſyſtem of tenderneſs be adopted in the place of that of calculated ſeverity and oppreſſion; if, moreover, the progeny of the then ſlaves ſhould have the ſame attention beſtowed upon them, as others of the human race, it is not only ſelf-evident, that, like other human beings, they will be able to continue their ſpecies, but, being endued with a more prolifick nature than the reſt, that they muſt *rapidly increaſe*; and that the planters will be ſo far from being in want of cultivators for their lands, that they will ſoon be enabled to *put new land into culture without any purchaſes from the coaſt.*

SECTION III.

I have now conſidered the abolition of the ſlave trade as far as it would have an influence on the preſent or future *number* of the ſlaves: I come now to the ſecond point of inquiry, namely, to conſider the immediate or future effect which it would have upon the *planters*, the *ſlaves* themſelves, and the *iſlands:* for it has been ſaid, that many other melancholy conſequences would ariſe to theſe by the abolition of the trade.

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The firſt effect, that the planter would immediately experience, would be this. He would ſave the money formerly expended in the purchaſe of new ſlaves, and of courſe avoid the inconceivable difficulties which he has now neceſſarily to encounter on this account.

That the reader may form a notion of the diſtreſs under which he frequently labours from this circumſtance, and of the advantages reſulting from the change, I ſhall give him the ſentiments of Mr. Long, who was too much attached to the intereſts of his friends in the iſlands, to deceive them in this particular.

* "The purchaſe of new negroes (ſays he) is the moſt "chargeable article attending theſe eſtates, and the *true* "*ſource* of the diſtreſſes, under which their owners "ſuffer: for they involve themſelves ſo deeply in debt "to make theſe *inconſiderate* purchaſes, and loſe ſo many "by diſeaſe or other means in the ſeaſoning, that they "become unable to make good their engagements, are "*plunged in law ſuits and anxiety*; while for want of ſome "prudent regulation in the right huſbanding of their "ſtock, and *promoting its increaſe by natural means*, they "intail upon themſelves a neceſſity of drawing perpetual "recruits of unſeaſoned Africans, the expenſe of which "forms only a new addition *to their debts and difficulties.*"

To confirm this, I ſhall ſtate a few particular facts. In the iſland of Jamaica four courts are annually held, namely, in the months of February, May, Auguſt, and November. About three thouſand new actions are uſually brought at each of theſe, chiefly on bonds; and of theſe bonds about *nine-tenths* are ſuch as have been given to the factors *for new ſlaves*.

In the ſame iſland about *five hundred thouſand pounds* paſſed through the hands of a certain ſheriff in three years. This prodigious ſum had been procured by the ſale of goods, taken chiefly on execution on ſuch bonds, as had been given for *the ſame purpoſe* as the former.

The principal part of thoſe who were confined in the goals of the ſame iſland, during the ſame period, conſiſted of people whoſe perſons had been ſeized, after the iſſuing

* Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica. Vol. I. Page 437.

out of executions on judgment, to make up that deficiency in their payment *for ſlaves*, to which their goods had not been found adequate.

It is eaſy to ſee from hence, and the foregoing quotation from Mr. Long, that I have not been ſtating a viſionary or chimerical advantage. The planter, in conſequence of the regulations that would unavoidably follow the abolition of the ſlave trade, would protract the lives of his preſent ſlaves. In the interim, the riſing generation would be ſhooting up. To ſave therefore the purchaſe-money uſually expended in theſe, to be freed from a ſource of continual inquietude and diſtreſs, and at the ſame time to experience no diminution in the returns of his eſtate, is an advantage ſo ſubſtantial and important at the firſt ſight, as to need no farther illuſtration.

There is a ſecond, however, which he would alſo immediately feel. His ſlaves would become more valuable. Whatever may be his property in theſe at the preſent moment, certain it is, that, on the moment of the abolition of the ſlave trade, it would be conſiderably increaſed. Is the value of it but barely adequate to the diſcharge of his debts?—He would be able to free himſelf from theſe, and to have an overplus for himſelf.—In ſhort, whatever may be his ſituation in the iſlands, he would derive in this reſpect an immediate benefit from the change.

But his *future* would be infinitely greater than his *preſent* advantages. His ſlaves, which would become immediately more valuable in conſequence of the abolition, would, in proceſs of time, become more valuable from another conſideration. Let us view them therefore at a diſtant period. Let us ſee their ſituation in about twenty years, after this great event has taken place.

At this period, it is to be preſumed, that all the ſlaves in the iſlands would be *Creoles*.

In the firſt place, they would have been inured from their infancy, in a regular gradation of employment, to labour. They would of courſe be more hardy, and capable of the plantation work, than any of their predeceſſors, who, having led, perhaps, a life of indolence in their own country, have been but little capable of ſuſtaining

ing the fatigue which they have been ſentenced to undergo.

They would, ſecondly, be more ready and expert. Born on the iſlands, they would attain our language, and underſtand us immediately: whereas, their predeceſſors, the imported Africans, have been unable, for a length of time, to comprehend our meaning.

Theſe circumſtances would greatly increaſe their price, if expoſed to ſale, and of courſe the property of their poſſeſſors: and as a proof of it, I appeal to the planter, whether he does not conſider a *Creole*, at this moment, of *twice* the value of *an imported ſlave*.

This is one of the *future* advantages which the planter would unavoidably experience in conſequence of the abolition of the trade. I ſhall now proceed to enumerate the reſt.

His work would be better done. This is evident from the habit of labour, which his ſlaves would have acquired from their infancy, and (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) their *apprenticeſhip* to their work.

More of it would be done in the ſame time. This may appear a paradox to many. But the labour of thoſe ſlaves, who are ruled with a rod of iron, is inconceivably ſmall. Will a man work with alacrity for the maſter who ſtarves, tortures, and oppreſſes him? Will he work with alacrity where he has no intereſt in his labour? Where, if his ſinews are worn out with exertion, he is not ſuffered to partake, in any degree, the fruits of his pains? But, reverſe the ſcene. Let him be treated with tenderneſs. Let his wants be ſupplied. This will operate as an incitement to his exertions: gratitude will demand a return; and his labour will carry with it, wherever it is traced, diſtinguiſhing marks of the change. This is not merely a ſpeculative poſition. It is founded on experience. Many planters have been witneſſes of the fact.

A certain American refugee fled with his ſlaves, during the late war, to the iſland of Jamaica. It was his conſtant cuſtom to treat them well, to viſit them in their ſickneſs, to attend to their complaints, to conſider them rather as ſervants for whom he had a regard, than as his ſlaves. In conſequence of this, their indulgencies were

many. Theſe, however, were not loſt upon them. They brought their maſter the firſt fruits of their little ſpots, of their poultry, of their ſwine. They behaved in an orderly manner, and toiled for him with alacrity and joy.

Theſe indulgencies, however, did not fail to attract the notice of the managers of the neighbouring plantations. They looked upon them with a painful eye. They at length waited upon the diſpenſer of them, and aſſured him, that if he continued his mild adminiſtration, he would ruin the diſcipline of his neighbour's ſlaves. His reply was this: — "I treat my ſlaves with lenity. They "work *four hours* in the day leſs than yours. Notwith- "ſtanding theſe indulgencies they *do more work* than "yours, who are whipped through it from morning to "night. The comparative advantages are ſo great in my "favour, from my preſent ſyſtem, that, if I paid no re- "gard to the calls of humanity, I muſt continue to "purſue it."

Such would be the caſe were the ſlave trade aboliſhed; for ſuch humane treatment, and ſuch indulgencies would be the conſequence of the abolition, as would prove an incitement to the exertions of the ſlaves, more than the ſtimulus of the laſh, or the goad of avarice and oppreſſion.

To this advantage of *having a greater quantity of work performed in the ſame time*, which would increaſe the annual profit or returns of the planter, another would be added. In conſequence of the abolition of the ſlave trade, he would have been under the neceſſity of appropriating a certain portion of land to the ſuſtenance of his cattle, and his ſlaves. We ſhould ſee him, therefore, at the future period aſſigned, in a comfortable ſituation: not uneaſy and agitated as before, not depending upon a precarious ſubſiſtence from diſtant parts, eſpecially in the time of war, but having every reſource on his own eſtate, and in his own power.

But if any *future* advantage, which he would experience from the abolition, is to be eſtimated higher than the reſt, it would be this,—that he would ſleep in peace, and be no longer under apprehenſions from thoſe private cabals, and

open

open insurrections, which his former conduct had ſo deſervedly occaſioned.

Many of the unfortunate people, who are brought into the colonies, have been kidnapped, have been forcibly torn from their connections. The remembrance of theſe is painful. It frequently excites the ſigh, and makes them diſſatisfied and reſtleſs. Others, if procured in a fairer manner, have been yet unuſed to labour. The ſevere taſk, impoſed upon them in the colonies, is of courſe only the more ſenſibly felt. This, with cruel uſage, confinement, torture, and other circumſtances, prevents an attachment to their maſters, makes them revengeful, vigilant to gratify that revenge, and indulgent of it, if occaſion offers.

The ſlaves, on the other hand, at the period aſſigned, would be all *Creoles*, and in a different predicament. They would not have been violently ſeparated, like their predeceſſors, from that country, and thoſe connections, which they eſteemed moſt in life. They would have been inured from their infancy to labour, and would find no hardſhip in their allotted taſk. They would not be ſo keenly ſenſible of the loſs of liberty, which is perhaps, of all others, the greateſt incitement to an inſurrection. A bird, that has been bred up in captivity, does not repine like one that has been taken from the woods, and confined within the narrow limits of a cage. Such would be the ſituation of the ſlaves at this future period; and ſo juſtly (as the reader will ſee) are theſe conſequences to be apprehended, that it is a matter of fact, "* that the chief "actors in the ſeditions and mutinies, which at different "times have broken out in the iſlands, have been the "*imported Africans*;" whereas ſome of the *Creole ſlaves* have been intruſted with arms in their hands *without abuſe*.

Theſe would be the chief advantages that would reſult to the planter from the abolition of the trade in ſlaves. A ſource of continual embarraſſment and diſtreſs would be immediately taken away. His property would be conſiderably increaſed; his annual returns larger: he would

* Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica, Vol. II. p. 444.

ſeel himſelf in an independent ſituation, in point of ſubſiſtence, either in peace or war; and he would have the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of going to his bed fearleſs of any private machinations, and in full confidence that his property as well as his perſon would be ſecure.

Having conſidered what would be the immediate or future ſituation of the *planter*, in conſequence of the change, I come now to that of the *ſlave*.

If the ſlave trade were aboliſhed, it is evident that many mild and ſalutary regulations would immediately take place; that the ſlave would be better fed; that his hours of labour would be reduced to fewer in the day; that his perſon would be more ſecure; that he would have the power of appeal; and that every ſpur, that could promote population, would be adminiſtered. Theſe then, or ſimilar regulations, unavoidably taking place, we ſhould ſee a material change in his ſituation. We ſhould ſee him in poſſeſſion of a little time to himſelf, and devoting it either to his own amuſement, or in the improvement of his little ſpot, to his future advantage and ſupport. We ſhould ſee him, not chilled with horror at the ſight of his proprietor as before, but ſmiling with gratitude and joy. We ſhould ſee him *legally* engaging in the bands of connubial happineſs; while his wife would have time to nurſe and enjoy her child, not regretting that ſhe had brought it into the world to inherit a life of perpetual miſery and woe, but to be a witneſs of her new ſituation, and to ſhare the change. Thus experiencing, on one hand, a diminution of their former rigours, and raiſed to poſitive advantages on the other, they would both *immediately* be admitted to a certain portion of *happineſs*, and their condition be conſiderably *improved*.

This change having once taken place, and great benefit having neceſſarily ariſen to the planter from the adoption of it, there can be no difficulty in anticipating the *future* ſituation of the ſlave; for it is natural to ſuppoſe, that if advantages ſhould have been found to accrue to the planter in proportion to his humanity, he would ſtill proceed; and when that ſyſtem, which was the conſequence of the abolition of the ſlave trade, had had its due operation, he would

would adopt a ſecond ſtill more lenient and equal. Every new indulgence of this kind would advance the ſlave in the ſcale of ſocial life, and improve his condition. Every improvement of his condition would qualify him the more for the reception of *Chriſtianity and freedom*; and if ever theſe glorious events were to be brought to paſs, then would be the æra, in which happineſs would be the moſt extenſively diffuſed in the colonies, and the eſtate of the planter be productive of the greateſt * gain.

I come now to the conſequences which would reſult to the *iſlands* by the abolition of the ſlave trade.—Theſe conſequences would be truly valuable, as the iſlands would be ſafe and impregnable during the time of war.

It is well known that the planters, at this period, have been *in general* in continual alarm. The fugitive ſlaves have never failed to make their incurſions, and to be ready to join the foe. Their own ſlaves on the plantations have been peculiarly ripe for a revolt, and have only waited for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. In ſhort, they have been well aſſured, that if the enemy could only have contrived to arm them, a general maſſacre would have taken place, and the iſlands have been loſt.

This will ſhew, in a more conſpicuous light, the great importance of the change that would take place in conſequence of the abolition of the trade. In a few years all the ſlaves upon the iſlands would be *Creoles*, and as every man has naturally an attachment to his native ſpot, ſo the Creole would have a partiality for theſe. In theſe iſlands alſo would be his relatives and friends, his little property, his ſpot of nutrition, and his home. He would ſpeak the ſame language as his maſter, contract the ſame habits, imbibe the ſame prejudices. Theſe, and

* Attempts have been made in a certain *French colony*, for ſome time paſt, to bring the ſlaves by degrees into the enjoyment of *liberty* and *property*. And the progreſs of this eſtabliſhment tends to prove, that a ſimilar ſyſtem, if general, would be not only conducive to the *proſperity of the colony*, but alſo to the *private intereſt of the preſent proprietors of plantations*. In America many ſlaves have been *liberated*. The conſequence has been, that the face of the country has been altered, the lands in a higher ſtate of cultivation, and the proprietor enriched. In Cochin China the ſugar, which is wholly made there by *free* men, can be afforded at *one-ſeventh* of the price, for which it is ſold, when made by *ſlaves*.

other

other circumſtances, would excite his alacrity, his vigilance, his courage, his exertions, and he would be found to the iſlands a ſteady and faithful protector, and to the invaders a bitter and a formidable foe.

To ſhew that this is not merely ideal, or without foundation, I ſhall relate a fact, that happened during the late war. In the iſland of *Barbadoes* the greateſt part of the ſlaves are *Creoles*. They are uſed in general with *more humanity* there than in the other iſlands; though their treatment is by no means ſuch as they would experience, were the trade aboliſhed. Notwithſtanding this, ſeveral of them were ſelected, and formed into a military corps. They were found to be vigilant, and ready, on every occaſion: and no *one* inſtance could be found on the whole iſland where a ſlave had abuſed the confidence repoſed in him, or had turned his arms to a bad purpoſe.

I have now enumerated the principal conſequences that would unavoidably reſult to the *planters*, the *ſlaves* themſelves, and the *iſlands*, from the abolition of the ſlave trade. I need not obſerve, that they are ſuch, as are highly important in themſelves, truly pleaſing in the anticipation, and moſt devoutly to be prayed for. Indeed, there is no proſpect, that we are obliged to view at a diſtance, that is ſo charming and delightful. For let us ſee the planter at a future period, not the tyrant and deſtroyer, but the ſhepherd and the guardian of his ſlaves. Let us ſee them looking upon him in return as the diſpenſer of their bleſſings; gratefully acknowledging his favours, endeared to him from the ties of principle and gratitude. Let us ſee them annually improving both in their temporal and religious ſtate. Then ſhall the chains of deſpotiſm be broken. The Dæmon torture ſhall throw her inſtruments into the ſea; commerce extend her ſwelling ſails; embarraſſments be no more; ſecurity and confidence eſtabliſhed; a golden age, in ſhort, reign in the colonial plains; and a ſpot, that was once the ſcene of accumulated perſecution and murder, be the manſions of peace, ſecurity, happineſs, and joy.

If this deſirable change then were to take place, as it inevitably muſt; if all theſe bleſſings were to follow; how additionally *impolitick* is the *ſlave trade*, which is the

only

only impediment to their realization; which, by holding up to the planter the proſpect of an annual ſupply, only encourages him to waſte and diſſipate human life, and to be cruel; and which, by furniſhing him with people deprived of the natural rights of men, fills him frequently with alarm, and obliges him often to adopt a ſyſtem of diſcipline and oppreſſion, that will for ever hinder him from experiencing the ſolid advantages deſcribed.

CHAP. II.

SECTION I.

The patrons of the ſlave trade having founded an argument, in ſupport of their cauſe, on the fatal conſequences of its abolition to the *colonies*, derive another from the baneful effects which would reſult from it *to this kingdom*.

They aſſert firſt, that if ſuch an event were to take place, it would *annihilate a conſiderable branch of the revenue*.

No argument, perhaps, has been deemed of greater importance by the opponents of the abolition, than this. They have been aſſiduous, both in their converſation and in their writings, to diſſeminate it. They have never failed to mention it too with their wonted confidence, and but too many have implicitly admitted it without an inveſtigation of the fact. It will be proper therefore to examine into the truth of their aſſertion, and to ſee how far the objection, advanced by them, is valid.

The loſs which the revenue might ſuſtain in conſequence of the abolition of the ſlave trade, could be effected only in three ways. It might be ſuppoſed to ſuffer, firſt, by the *loſs of duty on ſuch goods as are uſually exported to Africa, and the exportation of which, on ſuch an event, would ceaſe*. This point I ſhall immediately conſider. The remaining two ſhall be noticed in their proper place.

To inveſtigate this, it will be proper to enumerate the articles that are uſually exported from this country to the coaſt.

coaſt. Theſe may be divided into three claſſes, namely, Britiſh, Eaſt-Indian, Eaſt-Indian and Venetian conjointly.

In the firſt claſs may be reckoned

Gunpowder	Pewter-ware
Shot	Earthen-ware
Guns	Glaſs
Gun-flints	Brandy
Cutlaſſes	Manilloes
Knives	Neptunes
Braſs-pans	Cottons
Iron-bars	Linens
Lead-bars	Woollens
Copper-rods	Fuſtians.

In the ſecond claſs may be reckoned

Blue cloths	Chelloes
Brawles	Nicamees
Bejutapants	Negampants
Callicoes	Romalls
Cuſhtaes	Photaes
Chintz	

In the third claſs may be reckoned

Arrangoes	Coral
Cowries	Great bugle
Amber beads	Small bugle

The articles mentioned in the firſt claſs, being of the production and manufacture of Great Britain, pay no * duty on exportation, and of courſe, were they never more to be carried to the coaſt, the *revenue* could ſuſtain no injury by the change.

Thoſe in the ſecond conſiſt of ſuch as are either prohibited, and neither pay duty nor receive drawback, or of ſuch as have the whole duty returned in caſe of exportation to Africa.

* Printed cottons pay exciſe, which is, however, drawn back on exportation.

Thoſe

Thoſe in the third are all of them ſubject to duty, but the * drawback is ſo great, that, after the receipt of it, ſcarcely ſufficient is left to pay for the proportion of ſalary of thoſe in office, under whoſe cognizance they fall.

It is evident, therefore, that the revenue could not ſuffer at all by any loſs of duty on the *goods exported* from hence to Africa, were the trade aboliſhed.

The ſecond way, in which the revenue might be ſuppoſed to ſuſtain a loſs, might be by a *loſs of duty on ſuch of the productions of Africa, as are uſually imported from thence into this kingdom, and the importation of which would ceaſe.*

A few words only will be neceſſary to aſcertain this point. The productions of Africa are brought to us by two different means of conveyance, namely, of the wood and of the ſlave veſſels. The greater ſhare of them is imported by the former, ſo that whether the ſlave trade were aboliſhed or not, this proportion would ſtill continue to be brought. If it were aboliſhed, that part of them, which is now brought home by the latter, to the detriment of the fair trader upon the coaſt, would fall in their proper channel. More wood veſſels would be immediately fitted out, nor would any diminution whatever, either immediately or in future, be experienced by the revenue *in this inſtance*, from the abolition of the trade in ſlaves.

The third, and only remaining way in which it can be ſuppoſed that the national purſe would ſuffer, muſt be by a *loſs of duty on rum and ſugar*, both of which being produced by the toil of ſlaves, might either decreaſe in quantity, or be annihilated in the iſlands, were the trade aboliſhed.

* This will be ſeen from the following ſtatement.

	Duty.	*Drawback.*
Arrangoes } for every £ 100 of the Cowries, } real value thereof	£ 31 13 4	£ 29 16 0
Beads Amber, } per lb. - —— Coral, }	0 4 5	0 4 2
Bugle Small, per lb. - -	0 2 7	0 2 5
Bugle Great, per lb. - -	0 1 7	0 1 6

To this ſtatement I may add, that ſo far is the revenue from being benefited, that the bounties, paid out of it on goods exported to Africa, amount to ten times more than any duties which it receives.

With

With reſpect to a diminution of the uſual quantity of theſe valuable articles, which would of courſe occaſion a diminution of revenue, I apprehend there is no perſon ſo extravagant as to ſuppoſe, that it could take place when the riſing generation were grown up. It will be therefore proper to inquire firſt, what would be the ſituation of things, from the moment of the abolition of the ſlave trade, till the riſing generation could be brought into employ.

The age at which the young Creoles are uſually put into the field, is that of *fifteen*. This, therefore, is the ſpace of time in which I am to inquire whether there would be any diminution of the articles of revenue before ſpecified.

The firſt queſtion that ſeems naturally to occur on the occaſion is this,—Whether the number of labourers would be leſs in this than in any former period of an equal length?

It is very certain that there would be in the iſlands, at the moment of the abolition, Creoles of every age, from one to fifteen, ready to fill up in ſucceſſion the places of many of thoſe who would unavoidably be taken off within this period. It will be ſaid, however, that theſe would not be numerous enough of themſelves to ſupply the whole deficiency by death. But I reply, that in conſequence of the regulations, both in point of labour, food, and treatment, that would neceſſarily follow the abolition of the ſlave trade, the bills of mortality would be leſs crowded, and that the lives of all thoſe ſlaves, at that time upon the iſlands, would be conſiderably prolonged. By means, therefore, of this protraction of human life on the one hand, which would render perhaps only half the former number of recruits neceſſary in a given time, and by means of this regular ſucceſſion of Creoles on the other, more of whom would live to come to maturity than in any former period of the ſame length, there could be but little diminution of theſe articles from the diminution of effective labourers in the colonies.

But let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that the number of labourers would be leſs: ſtill no diminution of theſe articles is neceſſary: for a leſs number, under tender regulations,

tions, would do as much work as a greater, without them, in the ſame time. It is not on the number, but on the condition, the ability, the willingneſs of the labourer, that the quantity of work depends. On eſtates, where the laſh has been inceſſantly applied, the ſlaves have univerſally done much leſs in proportion, than upon thoſe where they have met with indulgencies, and been treated like human beings. Such would be the caſe during this period, and if the number of ſlaves were to become leſs, by *one-third*, than before, it is not neceſſary that any diminution ſhould take place, either in the quantity of ſugar and rum, or in the revenue, that may be expected by the ſtate.

Again. Let us ſuppoſe them to be reduced even to one-half of their former number, till the riſing generation were put into employ.—Let the planters introduce machines of huſbandry, and one-half, or one-tenth, or even *one-thirtieth*, would do as much work in the ſame time as all of them together were able to do before, under their *then* ſyſtem of labour.

As a proof of this, (for it is not a bare conjecture,) I ſhall ſelect the two following paſſages from * Mr. Long.

"It was found, ſays he, that one plough, uſed on an "eſtate in the pariſh of Clarendon, turned up as much "ground in one day, and in a *much better* manner than "*one hundred* negroes could perform with their hoes in "the ſame time."

"When the plant is made in the furrow, *following the* "*plough*, I think it demonſtrable, that more ground can "be turned up and planted in this way in *one day*, than "can be holed and planted in the uſual way in *three*, and "with a *tenth* leſs number of able negroes."

Such is the language of Mr. Long, and it muſt be evident, I think, to every impartial perſon, both from theſe and the preceding obſervations, that the revenue could not † poſſibly ſuffer by any diminution of the uſual quantity

* Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica. Vol. I. Page 449, 450.

† Suppoſe that their lives would not be protracted, that leſs work would be done in the ſame time, that machines of labour would be rather an hindrance than a gain, ſtill the deficiency might be made up by *foreign* ſugar, (till the riſing generation were grown up) and the revenue be *improved*.

quantity of *rum* and *ſugar*, till the riſing generation were capable of being put into employ. It has appeared before, that it could not ſuffer by any diminution of the *exports* to Africa, or *imports* from thence into this kingdom: and if it could ſuſtain no injury in either of the three ways now mentioned, I do not ſee how it is poſſible that it could ſuffer at all.

Thus, in whatever point of view we conſider the ſubject, there could neceſſarily be no diminution of the revenue. But, on the other hand, when we come to conſider the great prolongation of life, which muſt reſult from thoſe regulations that the abolition of the ſlave trade muſt introduce, the better condition of the ſlaves from the ſame cauſe, their greater zeal and alacrity, the truth of the maxim, that thoſe, who are beſt treated, univerſally work the beſt, and the extraordinary advantages of the introduction of machines of huſbandry, by which one-thirtieth only of the former ſtrength would be required, it is highly *probable* that the revenue would be *increaſed*, and it is *certain* that it *could* be made, under proper regulations, to receive a *greater augmentation* in this, than in any former period of an equal length.

Having now inquired what would be the ſituation of the revenue, till the riſing generation were put into employ, I ſhall inquire what its ſituation would probably be after this period: for the more remote, as well as the leſs diſtant conſequences of the abolition of the ſlave trade, ſhould be had in view.

It is probable, that ſome of the ſlaves, who were in bondage at the time of the abolition, would be then alive; but as many of theſe would be paſt their labour, and the reſt would be going off, I ſhall content myſelf with having only mentioned them. The effective, or riſing ſtrength then on the iſlands, would conſiſt of *Creoles*. Theſe would be found, in a regular ſucceſſion, from the age of *thirty* to *one*. They would have been born too in the order of nature, that is, the ſexes would have been properly proportioned by means of birth, which is not the caſe in the colonies at the preſent day.

improved. For this, from its cheapneſs, would bear a heavier duty, and yet come into our hands at a more reaſonable rate than that from the Britiſh colonies.

Having

Having this advantage then; having, moreover, the advantages of a prolifick nature, of living in a climate to which they have been habituated from their infancy, and of being treated in an humane and tender manner, far beyond any of their predeceſſors, they would from this period very rapidly increaſe, and a much greater number of ſlaves would be then found in the iſlands, than at any former time. This would evidently be the caſe. It is no ſpeculative conjecture. It is founded on the invariable rule of nature, on the immutable decrees of the Deity, that every ſociety of people, among whom the ſexes are properly proportioned, and common advantages are enjoyed, *muſt increaſe*.

Let us now conſider the effects of this increaſe. The planter, having more hands than before, will ſeek for employment for his ſupernumeraries. He will ſeek for it, becauſe he will not ſupport them in idleneſs, and becauſe his own intereſt will be ſo materially concerned. Two proſpects will then preſent themſelves, namely, the *improvement of the old land*, and the *clearing and cultivation of the new*.

There are few eſtates in the colonies, or indeed in any other part of the world, in which many more hands could not be employed to advantage, than are employed in them at preſent; or which have arrived at that degree of cultivation, to which they are capable of being brought. It is evident therefore, in the firſt caſe, that the ſame ſpot that produced a certain number of hogſheads of ſugar annually, would be made to produce *more*, and that the *revenue* would derive a *proportionate benefit* from the change. This would be the firſt natural conſequence of the *increaſe*.

In the ſecond caſe the advantages would be ſimilar and great. The planter would direct a part of his agricultural ſtrength to the clearing of new land, and the augmentation of his eſtate. In this reſpect he has been hitherto confined: for the expenſe of purchaſing new ſlaves has been ſo heavy, and ſo many of them have conſtantly died in the arduous employment, arduous not only in itſelf, but particularly to thoſe who have been unuſed to labour, that his attempts have very rarely been made but with loſs, and have

often ruined him. The caſe, however, at the period now in view, would be reverſed. His * *Creoles*, ſeaſoned to the climate, and inured from their infancy to work, would perform it without its former weight, and would be able to realize his views without any of the diſadvantages deſcribed.

Enabled then to put his plans into execution without any detriment to himſelf, let us conſider the ſecond conſequence of the *increaſe*.

Every new piece of land, which he would clear and put into cultivation, would produce an additional quantity of ſugar and rum. This additional quantity would pay its proportionate duty to the ſtate; and how far the revenue is capable of increaſe, by theſe means, may be conceived, in ſome meaſure, from the following account.

	Acres of Land.
In Jamaica alone are contained about	3,500,000
There are already cleared, opened, and applied to cultivation or paſture	600,000
The Savannahs include - -	250,000
The rocky, unplantable parts, roads, river-courſes, and gullies -	300,000
	1,150,000

It appears from hence, that there remain in Jamaica alone, capable of cultivation, about 2,350,000 acres of land. Here then would be an ample field for ſpeculation, for the employment of ſupernumerary ſlaves, and for an addition to the revenue.

In ſhort, if we conſider the firſt conſequence of the *increaſe*, as viſible in the *improvement* of the old land, and the ſecond, as viſible in the *clearing and cultivation of the new*, and combine them, it will appear, that a prodigious extenſion of revenue would unavoidably ariſe to this kingdom; and that the abolition of the ſlave trade would

* *Native Africans*, (ſays Mr. Long) unſeaſoned to the climate, and *leſs able* than the *Creoles* to bear the toil of *cutting down thick woods*, and *clearing freſh land*.—Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica. Vol. I. Page 526.

be

be the means, in the courſe of time, of conſiderably augmenting its preſent opulence and power.

Such would be the ſituation of things in the *colonies*, were the trade aboliſhed. Let us now, for a moment, turn our eyes to *Africa*, and let us look at the proſpect there.

In the interval of time, from the rearing of the riſing generation to the putting of them into employ, we ſhould have been buſy in eſtabliſhing an honourable and civilizing commerce among the natives there. We ſhould have been ſucceſsful in our attempts, becauſe we ſhould have given them encouragement, (of which they are not inſenſible) and have embarked in it with emulation and zeal. We ſhould have imported many of their variegated and valuable woods, their cotton, their rice, their indigo, their ſpices, and, perhaps, articles neither known at the preſent day, nor to be credited were they known and mentioned. Many of the productions of Africa would bear a duty in a little time, and if ſuch a duty were affixed to them on importation, they would nevertheleſs come cheaper into our hands, than thoſe of the ſame kind, if duty free, from another quarter. This improvement, therefore, which the revenue would derive in time from the new trade, is to be added to the account.

To ſum up the whole. It is evident, that the revenue could not poſſibly be diminiſhed, in conſequence of the abolition of the ſlave trade, till the riſing generation were put into employ. It is probable that it would be increaſed: and it is certain that it *could* be made, under proper regulations, to receive a greater augmentation in this, than in any former period of an equal length. But when the end of this period ſhould have arrived, ſuch an additional quantity of ſugar and rum would be annually imported from the iſlands, and ſuch an additional number of articles from the coaſt, that the revenue would arrive at a degree of extenſion, unknown in any former period, and not to be known till the riches of Africa are explored, or a ſyſtem of humanity and population be adopted in our colonies.

Theſe riches can never be diſcovered, this ſyſtem never introduced, but by the abolition of the trade in ſlaves.

SECTION II.

I have now examined one of the fatal conſequences that would, in the opinion of the patrons of the trade, unavoidably ariſe to *this kingdom* from its abolition. A ſecond is, that if ſuch an event were to take place, *it would annihilate a conſiderable branch of our manufactures.*

It is aſtoniſhing to hear the exaggerated accounts that have been uniformly given of the exports of this country to the coaſt of Africa for ſlaves. One could ſcarcely conceive that people, who wiſhed to ſupport their cauſe, could have ventured to make aſſertions, that but a little knowledge of the African trade muſt immediately refute, but that their audacity is to be equalled only by their ignorance, and that a bad cauſe univerſally wants ſupport.

It has been aſſerted by a perſon, who affects a conſiderable knowledge of this trade, that goods, to the amount of *two millions and an half*, are annually ſhipped to Africa; and it is aſſerted with no leſs confidence by the ſame, that the cargo of every ſhip is worth, on an average, *twelve thouſand pounds*. Theſe, and other abſurdities, have been daily obtruded into our ears. The publick prints have had their ſhare in proclaiming them; and the importance of the African trade has been ſounded from all quarters.

It is very fortunate, however, that but a few points, well known, will be able to check theſe exaggerated accounts. The average value of a ſlave upon the coaſt, the number that are annually purchaſed, and the average-number carried in one ſhip, are ſufficient documents for the refutation of the whole.

On a ſuppoſition then that goods to the amount of two millions and an half are annually ſhipped to the coaſt, and that one ſlave with another, including men, women, and boys, can be purchaſed by manufactures of the value of twenty pounds, (which is too high an allowance) even on ſuch a ſuppoſition, the Engliſh muſt annually purchaſe *one hundred and twenty-five thouſand* ſlaves; that is, they muſt purchaſe two-thirds more than they really do, or more than

than all the Europeans together, including themſelves, from the river Senegal to the utmoſt limits of Angola.

Again, on a ſuppoſition that every cargo is worth twelve thouſand pounds, it will appear from his own data, that two hundred and eight veſſels muſt be annually employed in this trade, and that each of theſe muſt tranſport *ſix hundred* ſlaves. In other words, the Engliſh muſt carry more by *two hundred and forty* in each ſhip than were ever known to be the average number carried by any number of ſhips in any year.

Such are the admirable arguments, and ſuch is the knowledge of the ſupporters of this trade. If they believe what they write, they muſt be ignorant indeed. If they are better informed, they muſt write againſt their own conviction, and muſt be conſidered as impoſtors, taking an advantage of the ignorance of the world, to ſerve an execrable cauſe.

The real value of the goods exported to Africa in the year 1786, was about *eight hundred thouſand pounds*. I ſpeak from good authority; I believe, as good as can be obtained. The account too is conſiſtent with itſelf. It may be checked either by the number of ſlaves purchaſed in that year, or by their value upon the coaſt. It will ſtand either of theſe ordeals; which is not the caſe with any of the monſtrous accounts delivered by the advocates for the trade.

This being the whole amount of the exports, and more than one third of them being of Venetian and Eaſt-Indian manufacture conjointly, the real value of the Britiſh manufactures ſhipped to the coaſt in that year may be called *five hundred thouſand pounds*. This is the prodigious branch, that would be annihilated by the abolition of the ſlave trade, being only one-fifth of the ſum its advocates have reported, and ſcattered in too many places to be felt, and too inſignificant to ſtop the abolition for a moment, even were it wholly loſt.

But I deny that the whole of it would be loſt were the ſlave trade *immediately* abolished. The ſlave veſſels bring home many of the productions of Africa annually, ſuch as ivory, palm-oil, long and malaguetta-pepper, part of which is paid for out of the amount of the Britiſh manu-

factures juſt mentioned. Whatever portion, therefore, of the exported goods was before expended in the purchaſe of theſe, by means of the ſlave veſſels now mentioned, would ſtill be expended by means of new wood-veſſels, fitted out for their reception.

I aſſert farther, that if, on the abolition of the ſlave trade, we were to embark with ardour in the new intercourſe that has been pointed out, and government would aſſiſt the plan, by encouraging the infant-ſettlement at Sierra Leon, by recalling the preſent African Governors, by appointing others on the coaſt whoſe principles and opinions would be favourable to the deſign, by directing the cultivation of every little ſpot in the vicinity of the forts, (which would ſhew an example to the natives) and by other means, the annual exports from this country to Africa would ſoon reach their preſent height, and a foundation be laid for ſuch an extenſive commerce, as would take them off, at a future period, in a quantity hitherto unknown.

That the Africans would ſoon engage in ſuch a line of connection, is evident for many reaſons. Firſt, becauſe they have acquired ſuch a taſte for our manufactures, that they could not eaſily relinquiſh them; and it is clear that they could not obtain them, at leaſt for a length of time, to the extent of their preſent demands, by other means.

Secondly, becauſe they have readily embarked in any new commercial plan that has been pointed out, and we have a right to argue from what has once been to what may again be.

Thirdly, becauſe the merchant in this line, requiring leſs credit than the ſlave merchant, buying his goods five per cent. cheaper, employing leſs hands in one veſſel, and knowing that his veſſel would laſt * twice the time of the other, could afford the exported articles at a cheaper rate; and the Africans, like other people, are too ſenſible of their own intereſt, not to chooſe that ſyſtem of commerce which would be moſt advantageous, were it pointed out.

This kind of intercourſe then being once eſtabliſhed,

* It is aſtoniſhing what an effect the heat and ſtench, ariſing from the ſlaves confined between the decks, have upon the timbers of the veſſels. This effect is ſo great, that a ſlave veſſel is conſidered at Liverpool as laſting only half the time of another,

let

let us mark the conſequences. The ſlave trade takes annually from Africa a prodigious number of its inhabitants. By the abolition of it, a leſs number would be taken away, or, which is the ſame thing, a greater number would be added, ſo that from this circumſtance alone, there would be an *additional conſumption of our manufactures* within the *ſame ſpace*.

The ſlave trade too has been hitherto an inſuperable impediment to the civilization of the Africans: but the new commerce would have a contrary effect. It would gradually change their laws, which are now moſtly adapted to the former. It would gradually alter their opinions and habits. It would ſoften and poliſh their manners, and would bring them to a ſtate of refinement, though not immediately great in itſelf, yet great in compariſon of their former ſtate. This civilization would be productive of the moſt beneficial effects to ourſelves: for in proportion as we civilize a people, we *increaſe their wants*, and we ſhould create therefore, from this circumſtance alone, another ſource of *additional conſumption of our manufactures* even within the *ſame ſpace*.

This being the caſe, ineſtimable would be the advantages which the kingdom would experience from the abolition of the trade in ſlaves. But if to theſe conſiderations we add, that the new intercourſe, being eſtabliſhed on a principle of greater gain, would extend itſelf every year, would make its way into the interiour country, and that in the very exerciſe of it, nation after nation would be civilized, it is evident, that there would be a *perpetually growing* demand for our manufactures, and that the conſumption of them in Africa would arrive at a degree of extenſion, which none but the moſt comprehenſive minds can be capable of conceiving.

Such, in time, would be the ſituation of the demand for our manufactures on the *coaſt of Africa*, were the ſlave trade aboliſhed: nor would that in the *colonies* be leſs pleaſing. The great increaſe of cultivators, that would unavoidably ariſe there in conſequence of the abolition, would of courſe occaſion a great increaſe of demand for our manufactures. Their condition too being improved, and their wants multiplied, they would demand them in

greater abundance, and I need hardly add, that they would demand them of a better ſort.

Nor would neceſſary or ornamental apparel, or domeſtick utenſils, or articles of fancy, be the only Britiſh commodities for which the demand would increaſe there. When the waſte lands were put into cultivation, new ſcenes would be opened, and new wants created. The new labourers muſt have their bills, their axes, and their hoes. There muſt be new materials for building, new ſtills and mill-caſes, new locks and ſtaples, new iron work for machines, and many other articles, too numerous to be particularly deſcribed. All theſe muſt be purchaſed, kept in repair, and renewed: and they would afford to the Britiſh manufacturer an *additional* and permanent employ.

In ſhort, there are few ſubjects more pleaſing in the contemplation than this. And ſo far would the abolition of the ſlave trade be from *annihilating a conſiderable branch of our manufactures*, that it would open many *additional ſources*, both in *Africa* and the *colonies*, for their conſumption, and would procure a vent, in the courſe of time, for ſuch a quantity, as, if compared with the preſent branch of them exported there, would render it inſignificant and mean.

SECTION III.

The patrons of the ſlave trade have conſidered the annihilation of a branch of our revenue, and the annihilation of a branch of our manufactures, as two of the fatal conſequences that would ariſe to *this* kingdom from its abolition. There is yet a third. It is ſaid, that if ſuch an event were to take place, the different towns concerned in this trade would, from the variety of diſtreſs that would be occaſioned in them, *receive a conſiderable ſhock*.

To inveſtigate this point, I ſhall divide the cities, towns, and villages, that have any connection with this trade, into two kinds, namely, *manufacturing and commercial*; and I ſhall ſuppoſe for a moment the abolition of the trade to have taken place,

With

With reſpect to the *manufacturing* towns, there are none, where the inhabitants work ſolely for the African trade. The moſt conſpicuous is Mancheſter, which ſupplies it annually with goods, almoſt to as great an amount as all the reſt of them put together. The next is Birmingham. In each of theſe are diſtinct houſes for this trade, and which have no connection with any other.

That the town of Mancheſter would receive a ſhock by the abolition of the ſlave trade, though the value of the goods, annually furniſhed for it, is great, is too abſurd not to be ridiculed by thoſe, who are acquainted with the nature, ſituation, or extent of the manufactures of that important place.

It is certain, that if ſome particular arts in this kingdom were to be ſuppreſſed, thoſe who have been brought up to them would be deſtitute for a time. They could not become artiſts directly in another line, and, till they could turn their hands to ſome other kind of employ, they would ſuffer. But this is not the caſe with the labouring manufacturer of Mancheſter for the African trade. The ſame perſon who works for this could immediately turn his hand to the different branches of manufacture now there. At this moment there are many infant arts to receive them, and more than ſufficient ſcope to employ that capital, which is now in the African, in other foreign markets. Nor need there be, nor is it likely that there would, a ſingle labouring manufacturer, who would ſuffer by the abolition of the ſlave trade, ſo long as he was willing to work.

With reſpect to Birmingham, the goods which are made there for the African trade, are unworthy of compariſon in point of value with thoſe which are made at Mancheſter for the ſame. They conſiſt principally of guns. But the whole branch of it is ſo inſignificant in itſelf, and bears ſo mean a proportion to the general manufactory of the place, that the change of faſhion only in a button, has occaſioned, and will ſtill occaſion, greater diſtreſs to the labouring manufacturers there, than the abolition of the whole trade in ſlaves.

If the reader wiſhed to have theſe aſſertions confirmed, I might ſtate to him, that when the ſlave trade began to

to excite the attention of the publick, a meeting of the inhabitants was called by advertiſement both at Mancheſter and at Birmingham on this ſubject. That theſe meetings were numerouſly attended. That they conſiſted of the moſt reſpectable perſons, in point of property and character, in the two towns. That there was not a diſſentient voice in either of them on the occaſion: but that committees were formed, and ſtill continue much to their honour to exiſt, to effect the abolition of the trade.

In the reſt of the *manufacturing* towns the different branches for the African market are very ſmall, and bear no kind of proportion to the different manufactories of the place. The ſame houſe too, which ſupplies the African, is connected with other trades; ſo that if the ſlave trade were immediately aboliſhed, no inconvenience could be felt in theſe, except in the loſs of ſale of ſuch chains or inſtruments of torture, as are ready made: and it is only to be lamented, that the fabricators of theſe would ſuffer ſo little, as they would do, by the change.

It appears then from hence, that the manufacturing towns of this kingdom that are concerned in the African trade, would not receive that conſiderable ſhock, which it is pretended would be occaſioned by its abolition. On the other hand we are to conſider, that veſſels would ſtill go to the coaſt, and would go for ſuch of its productions as the ſlave veſſels formerly took away; and if to this conſideration we add, that a new trade, ſuch as I have deſcribed in the firſt part of my work, might be eſtabliſhed there, ſuch an additional number of manufacturers would be ſoon employed, and ſuch an extra accumulation of wealth ariſe to the different towns, as would give them a much greater ſhare of importance, even than they poſſeſs at the preſent day. By the people of Mancheſter, however, the advantages would be particularly felt. Not to mention a larger exportation of manufacturers than before to the ſame coaſt, the ſingle circumſtance of obtaining their cotton from Africa would be ineſtimably great. This cotton, if we except the Perſian, to which it is equal in rank, is the fineſt of any on the globe. It is this uncommon fineneſs that would render it ſo peculiarly valuable: and of ſuch importance would it be in the eye of the Mancheſter

Mancheſter manufacturer to obtain it, that there is no event which he could wiſh for, in point of intereſt, more than the abolition of the trade in ſlaves.

Having taken into conſideration the *manufacturing*, I come now to *the commercial* towns that are concerned in this trade. Theſe are only three, namely, London, Briſtol, and Liverpool.

The great cities of London and Briſtol do not poſſeſs together in this employ ſo many as *forty* veſſels. To ſuppoſe, therefore, that any kind of diſtreſs could be felt by the total receſſion of theſe, or any kind of ſtagnation take place, would be to expoſe myſelf to deriſion: for I might as well ſuppoſe, that if forty drops of water were to be taken from a bucket, they would be miſſed.

That the town of Liverpool would be greatly affected by the blow, though it employs ſo many veſſels, and has a greater ſhare in the trade than London and Briſtol together, is a poſition, the abſurdity of which may be ſoon ſhewn.

It has long been a miſtake, that the town of Liverpool, which was formerly but a fiſhing village, is indebted for its preſent grandeur and opulence to the ſlave trade. No opinion was ever more erroneous than this. I ſhall therefore mention ſome of the principal cauſes that have contributed to bring it into its preſent ſtate.

The firſt has been the *free admiſſion of ſtrangers*, in conſequence of a politick exemption from many of thoſe dues, to which, as ſtrangers, they would have been liable in another place.

This has encouraged many to ſettle there. To ſupply theſe again, in all their reſpective wants, others have additionally come. Thus a conſtant addition of new families has been made to the original or the old.

Nor have leſs advantages been experienced in another point of view, by the ſame means. Each of the new ſettlers has brought with him his different purſuits and ſchemes; has had his emulation; has ſupported an home or a foreign trade, according as his connections lay.

To this free admiſſion then of ſtrangers, which has induced many to ſettle, unfettered, with their different purſuits, is to be attributed, on one hand, an increaſe of the

the population, and, on the other, of the mercantile intercourſe of the place.

A ſecond cauſe of the riſe and grandeur of Liverpool has been the *ſalt trade*.

Salt, which may be conſidered as its ſtaple commodity, and which is collected from the neighbouring mines, is brought there in ſuch quantities as almoſt exceed belief. Many veſſels are employed in the exportation of this article. This has not failed to increaſe the navigation of the place.

But the increaſe of the navigation and opulence of Liverpool is to be attributed to it in another way, which will be beſt ſeen by the following account.

Some merchants of the north, hearing a few years back, that this article could be purchaſed cheaper at Liverpool than at any other place, ſent two or three of their veſſels for a ſupply. The captains of theſe, on their return home, reported, that all thoſe nations of the north, who had no ſalt-works of their own, could not only lay in the article in abundance and cheaper there, but could alſo lay in their aſſortments of *tobacco*, *ſugar*, *and other American produce*, as well as at the London or other markets; and till this time they had, from their ignorance of the power of Liverpool to ſupply them in this reſpect, been confined to theſe.

Conſidering, therefore, that it was much more to their advantage to go to Liverpool for one of the articles deſcribed, and that they fared as well in the reſt, it was their intereſt upon the whole to declare in favour of the place. Theſe and other veſſels came afterwards pouring in for their ſalt, and laid in their foreign aſſortments at the ſame time. This immediately *gave riſe*, or rather *an addition to two foreign trades*, namely, the *Weſt-Indian* and *American*, to ſupply them.

The ſalt trade therefore has had an important ſhare in the preſent grandeur of Liverpool. It has not only increaſed its navigation by the exportation of that article, its ſtaple commodity, but alſo its navigation and opulence, by inducing veſſels, on account of its cheapneſs, to reſort there, which, but for this extraordinary cheapneſs, would have gone to another place. Theſe veſſels pay their dockage,

dockage, are often in want of repairs, and by taking off a part of the foreign imports of Liverpool, contribute towards its opulence, and the ſupport of a foreign trade.

It may, perhaps, be not amiſs to introduce a circumſtance here, which may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as confirming what has been hitherto ſaid on this ſubject. Debating ſocieties were held in Liverpool, as in London, in the winter of the year 1786, but with this difference, that many more reſpectable people exerciſed their oratory in the former, than in the latter place. At one of theſe the cauſes of the preſent grandeur and opulence of the town of Liverpool were the ſubject of diſcuſſion for the night. Many merchants, and one or two of great reſpectability and commercial knowledge, joined in the debate; and though the ſlave trade was advanced by a perſon there to have been the principal cauſe, he was obliged to relinquiſh his poſition, as wholly falſe; and it was determined, that other circumſtances, but particularly the *free admiſſion of ſtrangers*, and the *ſalt trade*, had been the means of the preſent grandeur and opulence of the town.

A third cauſe of the wealth and importance of Liverpool has been the prodigious increaſe of the population of Lancaſhire. The great increaſe of inhabitants there has not failed to increaſe the trade of the former place, to ſupply them with ſugar,* wine, and other foreign commodities. To ſuch a degree of populouſneſs has this county already arrived, that it is ſuppoſed to contain as many inhabitants as Middleſex, though London is included in the computation. Such a body as this will ever command and ſupport an extenſive foreign trade.

A fourth cauſe has been the very rapid and great extenſion of the manufactures of Mancheſter. The people there, inſtead of procuring their cotton as formerly, when the demand for it was ſmall, by the way of London, procure it now chiefly from Liverpool; and inſtead of ſending their manufactures as before to London for exportation, export them to foreign parts through the ſame medium.

* I am credibly informed, that about fifty years ago, the whole conſumption of Mancheſter did not exceed *two pipes* of wine annually, which were brought on horſes from Preſton—a quantity not equal to the individual conſumption of many of its preſent opulent and hoſpitable manufacturers.

Thus

Thus by procuring the article when raw, and exporting it when manufactured, by means of Liverpool, they have given birth to a new merchandize, have increaſed the foreign trade, and contributed to the riches of the place.

A fifth is to be attributed to the various canals which have been lately made, and with which that part of the country is interſected. There is now a communication from Liverpool by water to various parts inland, and indeed to the very oppoſite ſea. Whole counties, and diſtricts of people, that were formerly ſupplied with foreign produce from other places, are now ſupplied with it from this. This new intercourſe, by the means now ſtated, has contributed, perhaps of all others the moſt largely, to increaſe the trade and opulence of the town.

Theſe are ſome of the principal cauſes of that commercial importance which we ſee in the town of Liverpool at the preſent day; and I have made a digreſſion in relating them for the purpoſe only of removing an opinion, long prevalent, that this town, which was formerly a fiſhing village, is indebted for her preſent rank to the proſecution of the ſlave trade.

To return. That Leverpool would receive a conſiderable ſhock by the abolition of the trade in ſlaves is improbable, when we conſider thoſe reſources, that have been now mentioned; thoſe natural reſources, I may ſay, which are inſeparably connected with it, and which nothing but ſome great and unexpected revolution can take away. But as there are ſome who would aſſert, that the ſeceſſion of eighty ſhips from this trade would occaſion great embarraſſment and confuſion in the place, that the proprietors would not know how to employ them, that ſhipwrights, carpenters, and others, would want work, and experience diſtreſs, I ſhall make a few obſervations more on the ſame ſubject.

When the ſlave ſhips have diſcharged their cargoes in the Weſt-Indies, they prepare for returning home. Some of them take in a ſmall portion of Weſt-Indian produce, others not, according as they can get it, or have time to ſtay.

From hence it is manifeſt, that the produce of the Weſt-Indies comes to us by two means of conveyance: firſt, by means of thoſe veſſels that are employed in going backwards

backwards and forwards for this purpoſe only, and which I may diſtinguiſh by the name of veſſels in the *natural* trade: ſecondly, by means of the ſlave veſſels. Theſe carry the overplus, or ſuch produce as remains over and above that which the veſſels in the natural trade take off in the ſame time.

This overplus is regular; that is, a certain number of ſlave veſſels will uniformly take away from the Weſt-Indies a certain quantity of their produce in a given time. To aſcertain therefore how much this overplus is, will be to aſcertain the opening that would preſent itſelf, or the number of Liverpool ſlave ſhips that would find immediate employ, were the trade aboliſhed.

The following is an account of ſuch Weſt-Indian produce as was brought home by fifty veſſels of that deſcription, taken promiſcuouſly, or as they returned after each other into port.

Sugar 758 hogſheads	152 tierces	8 barrels	—	—
Rum 102 puncheons	4 hhds.	—	—	—
Cotton 1364 bales	1532 bags	951 pockets	82 packs	—
Indigo 4 tierces	4 caſks	8 boxes	9 bar.	1 keg
Coffee 18 puncheons	601 hhds.	15 tierces	136 bar	80 bags
Sarſaparilla 126 bundles	—	—	—	—
Pimento 1 hogſhead	3 tierces	2 barrels	7 bags	—
Ginger 3 puncheons	—	—	—	—
Pepper 77 puncheons	—	—	—	—
Tortoiſe-ſhell 11 barrels	—	—	—	—
Logwood 511 tons	—	—	—	—
Mahogany 151 logs	1042 planks	—	—	—
Nicaragua wood 469 tons	3480 pieces	8988 pounds	—	—
Fuſtick 557 tons	—	—	—	—
Lignum Vitæ 50 tons	—	—	—	—

I apprehend, that *fifty* ſlave veſſels, the amount of whoſe cargoes on their return from the Weſt Indies has been ſpecified as above, will be quite ſufficient, in point of number, to ſerve as a ground-work for any calculation on this ſubject. This being ſuppoſed, I ſhall ſtate that the produce above deſcribed is ſufficient to employ 4,000 tons of ſhipping, that the number of veſſels that ſailed from Liverpool to the coaſt of Africa in the year 1787 were about eighty, that they meaſured 14,012 tons, and that it follows from theſe data, that there would be an immediate opening in the Weſt India trade for *twenty-three* ſhips of the ſame average burthen as the ſlave veſſels: add to this, that

that as the productions of the coaſt, annually brought to Liverpool by the latter, would make alſo an opening in the wood trade for *five* more, there would be an immediate employment for *twenty-eight* of thoſe of its veſſels that are now employed in the ſlave trade.

With reſpect to the reſt, the growing reſources of Liverpool, and the new trades that preſent themſelves, would engage many, and it is probable, from the adventurous ſpirit of the people there, that there would not be, at the end of twelve months from the abolition, ten veſſels out of employ; a number which has often been withdrawn from this trade in one year, and the withdrawing of which has been too inſignificant to be felt.

It is evident therefore that the town of Liverpool could not poſſibly feel a ſhock by the abolition of the ſlave trade. This abolition, on the other hand, would prepare the way for a new commercial eſtabliſhment on the coaſt; and if ſuch a trade, in all its various branches, were eſtabliſhed there, as is capable of being introduced, not only the navigation, but the opulence and importance of Liverpool would be carried, by many degrees, beyond their preſent extent; nor is it eaſy to ſay at what diſtance a line could be drawn from their preſent bounds, to which they could not be made, from the vaſt and inexhauſtible reſources of Africa, to arrive in time.

To ſum up the contents of the three laſt ſections.—If we conſider that the *revenue* could not poſſibly be diminiſhed by the abolition of the ſlave trade, but that, in the courſe of time, it would be inevitably increaſed; if we conſider that the *exportation of our manufactures* to Africa might be diminiſhed for a year or two, but only to recover its former height, and then to proceed to a degree of extenſion, almoſt incredible, if compared with that at the preſent day; and if again we conſider that the *manufacturing and commercial towns* of this kingdom would be ſo far from receiving a ſhock, that they would derive in future the moſt important advantages from the change; then is the ſlave trade, *additionally impolitick*, for as much as its abolition could not be immediately injurious, but would be attended, in a little time, in all the inſtances now mentioned, with the happieſt effects.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

It is not improbable, but that ſome of the advocates for ſlavery may ſtop here, and raiſe the following objection to ſome of the principal aſſertions that have been made in the ſecond part of the work.

" You have ſaid, that if the ſlave trade were aboliſhed, the planters would breed from their preſent ſtock, that the revenue could not poſſibly be diminiſhed, and that the manufacturing and commercial towns would feel its annihilation ſo little, as to be almoſt inſenſible of the change. But this is only a matter of ſpeculation. Others, who have thought on the ſame ſubject, have come to a different concluſion. It is by facts alone that we ought to be guided in a matter that is of ſo much importance as the preſent caſe."

To this I reply, that I will meet their objection, and that I will reſt theſe conſequences of the abolition of the ſlave trade, as far as a reference can be had, upon facts alone.

There was a time, during the late war, when the ſlave trade may be conſidered as having been nearly aboliſhed. This is the proper time for a reference of this kind; and that ſuch a time is to be found will be evident from the following account.

In the year 1772 ſailed from the different ports of Great Britain for the Coaſt of Africa - - -	175 veſſels.
1773 - -	151
1774 - - -	167
1775 - -	152
1776 - -	101
1777 - -	58
1778 - -	41
1779 - -	28

It appears from this account, that in the year 1772, the year preceding the war, *one hundred and ſeventy-five* veſſels were fitted out at the different ports of Great

Britain for the coaſt of Africa, and that in the year 1779 they were reduced to *twenty-eight*. The ſlave trade, therefore, may be conſidered as having been nearly aboliſhed in this period. Now, we may all of us know, if we inquire, what were the effects of withdrawing, in the courſe of ſix years, *one hundred and forty-ſeven* veſſels from this trade. If it ſhould appear that theſe effects were not detrimental, that the planter bred from his ſtock, that the revenue was not diminiſhed, that the different towns before mentioned were in as flouriſhing a condition in the year 1779, when the African trade was leaſt, as in the year 1772, when it was at its greateſt height, then it may be concluded, that the reaſoning in the preceding chapters is true, and that *facts*, as well as reaſoning, evince, that none of thoſe fatal effects, foreboded by the advocates for ſlavery, are to be apprehended by the abolition of the trade.

To begin with theſe effects. Nothing is more certain than that the planters, at the beginning of the war, foreſeeing that their uſual ſupplies would be cut off, or, in other words, the ſlave trade annihilated, changed the ſyſtem of management on their plantations, and that they bred from their then ſtock. The effects of their conduct, in the encouragement of population, are viſible at the preſent day; for out of 450,000 ſlaves, to be reckoned on our iſlands, 350,000 of theſe are Creoles.

It is clear alſo, that a branch of the revenue was not annihilated during that period of the war, of which I have before ſpoken.

For, in the year 1772, was imported into England	-	1,766,422 cwt. of ſugar
1773	-	1,733,793
1774	-	1,963,578
1775	-	1,940,059
1776	-	1,669,071
1777	-	1,336,037
1778	-	1,404,995
1779	-	1,441,943

From hence we collect, that in the year 1772, when the African trade was at its height, 1,766,422 cwt. of ſugar

ſugar was imported into this country, and that 1,441,943 cwt. was imported, when the trade was nearly loſt. A branch therefore of the revenue ſtill remained. But it will be ſaid, that the quantity of ſugar imported in the year 1772, was certainly much greater than that in the year 1779. I allow it. But I reply, that in this, and the two preceding years, the enemy had collected their ſtrength, that the difference of importation is to be aſcribed to captures, and that leſs ſugar was not made, though leſs was brought to market by the chance of war in the year 1779 than in the year 1772, notwithſtanding that *one hundred and forty-ſeven* veſſels had been withdrawn from the African trade.

I come now to conſider the ſituation of the manufacturing and commercial towns at the two periods aſſigned.

In the year 1772, the manufacturers of Mancheſter worked for an *hundred and ſeventy-five* veſſels. In the year 1779 they worked only for *twenty-eight*. Notwithſtanding this, there were none of them out of employ. They had engaged themſelves in other branches of manufacture, and the trade of Mancheſter was in a more flouriſhing ſituation in the latter than in the former period; a fact, which many of its reſpectable inhabitants can teſtify.

With reſpect to Liverpool, * a few obſervations will be ſufficient.

TABLE I.

In the year 1772 ſailed from Liverpool for the coaſt of Africa	- -	100 veſſels.
1773	- -	105
1774	- -	92
1775	- -	81
1776	- -	57
1777	- -	31
1778	- -	26
1779	- -	11

* I omit London and Briſtol, as having had an inconſiderable ſhare in the trade.

TABLE II.

In the year 1772 the dock-duties of Liverpool amounted to -	£. 4552
1773 - -	4725
1774 - -	4580
1775 - -	5384
1776 - -	5064
1777 - -	4610
1778 - -	4649
1779 - -	4957

From theſe tables it appears, that when Liverpool had *one hundred* veſſels in the African trade, the dock-duties amounted to £. 4552, and that when theſe veſſels were reduced to *eleven*, the dock-duties roſe to £. 4957. Other facts, of a ſimilar nature, might be added here, but that it is too well known that Liverpool was in a more flouriſhing ſituation in the year 1779, than in the year 1772; that there was no want of employ; and that none of thoſe conſequences were realized, which are foreboded by the patrons of the trade.

It is manifeſt from the general ſketch now given, that we have ſeen, during the late war, what would be the effects of aboliſhing the ſlave trade; for no leſs than *one hundred and forty-ſeven* veſſels were taken out of it during that period, whereas there are only *one hundred and thirty-ſeven* in employ at the preſent day; and we have a right to infer, that if the revenue, and manufacturing and commercial towns, did not then ſuffer by withdrawing ſo great a number from the trade, they would hardly now ſuffer by withdrawing a leſs. The reaſoning, therefore, contained in the three preceding chapters of the ſecond part of the work, will ſtand good, till the facts, mentioned in this, ſhall be diſproved; and I am too well ſatisfied of their authenticity not to know that they cannot be contradicted,

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

The conſequences, that are conſidered as likely to reſult from the abolition of the ſlave trade, have been hitherto canvaſſed under two heads, namely, ſuch as would ſeriouſly affect *the colonies*, and ſuch as would ſeriouſly affect *this kingdom*. There is yet another to be examined, but of a different complexion from the former. It is ſaid, that "if the Engliſh aboliſh the ſlave trade, the "French will take it up, and that the latter (politically "ſpeaking) will derive *great advantages* from the "meaſure."

That the French would take it up, if the Engliſh aboliſhed it, is, like moſt of the aſſertions of the advocates for ſlavery, but a bare conjecture; notwithſtanding that it is aſſumed and delivered with as much confidence as if it were a fact.

There are many circumſtances that warrant me in aſſerting, that the French would be unable to *take it up*,* were they ſo inclined; but that they would even continue it is improbable.

Firſt, becauſe a ſociety has been lately eſtabliſhed in France, on the ſame principle as that of London, for the purpoſe of effecting the abolition of the ſlave trade among the French; and I aſſert with equal pleaſure and confidence, that ſome of the firſt people in France have ſhewn themſelves heartily diſpoſed to attend to the object of their inſtitution.

Secondly, becauſe if no ſuch humane motives impelled the French, as are diſcoverable among them, they would hardly give us the credit of aboliſhing the ſlave trade, however we might deſerve it, upon the principle of humanity. They are well aware that nations are guided by motives, that are termed *political*; that if we were to put a ſtop to the trade, it would be probably from the conſideration of its *impolicy*; and that if it were *politick* in us to aboliſh it, it would be *equally ſo* in them.

* That is, to ſupply themſelves with that number of ſlaves with which we ſupply them at preſent, and to become the carriers for the Spaniards.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, becauſe they would never ſuffer us to puſh a new trade in the natural productions of Africa, without following our example; and they have already purchaſed a conſiderable tract of Land at Cape Verd, where they are ready to begin, whenever we ſhew them the way, if not to be beforehand with us in the advantages reſulting from ſuch a trade.

Theſe are reaſons that have weighed ſufficiently with me, to induce me to ſuppoſe, that the French would at any rate give up the ſlave trade, if we relinquiſhed it, and theſe reaſons are much ſtronger than any that I can find on the other ſide of the queſtion. However, as this is only a matter of conjecture, and as any opponent has a right, if he is better informed, to argue the contrary, I will ſuppoſe, that when the Engliſh relinquiſh it, the French will not only continue it as at preſent, but *take it up*.

Let us then conſider the conſequences; for it is ſaid, that they will derive *great advantages* from the meaſure.

In the firſt place, we ſhall transfer to them a *loſing* trade; in the ſecond, one that will be *the grave of their marine*. The latter is too important a conſideration to be paſſed over without ſome remarks.

The French are now paying uncommon attention, as it is well known, to their marine, and look up to their American poſſeſſions for its ſupport. A great part of the ſlaves that aſſiſt in the cultivation of theſe, are furniſhed by our means. Every lot of them, which we import, or cauſe to be imported there, aſſiſts them in the completion of their preſent views. But if we relinquiſh the ſlave trade, and if, on the other hand, they become the importers of their own ſlaves, the ſcene will be totally reverſed. For in the importation of every lot of * *nine hundred* effective ſlaves into the uncultivated parts of St. Domingo, they will make *twenty-five*, but loſe † *ſixty* ſeamen; and in every ſuch importation into any of their old ſettled plantations, they will loſe *ſixty*, and make *none*. Thus, by

* See Page 79.

† This is what the Engliſh would loſe in ſupplying the French with 900 effective ſlaves; and as the latter loſe more than the former, in proportion to the tonnage of their ſhips, the ſtatement is much within bounds.

becoming

becoming the carriers of their own ſlaves, they will find, in every caſe, a conſiderable balance of loſs to their marine; and, by becoming the carriers of ſlaves to the Spaniſh ſettlements, (which is included in the idea of taking up the trade) this loſs will be ſo increaſed, as to become, in the ſcale of their naval importance, of the moſt ſerious concern.

Theſe then are ſome of the advantages that the French would experience by taking up the ſlave trade; let us now, for a moment, advert to ſome of thoſe that would reſult to us, who relinquiſhed it.

In the firſt place we ſhould be proſecuting a new and profitable commerce in the productions of Africa: and to that nation, which firſt made its eſtabliſhments there, the moſt advantages would accrue.

In the ſecond place we ſhould be adding to the ſtrength of our marine: firſt, by ſaving thoſe ſeamen, who, to the amount of ſome hundreds, now annually periſh; and, ſecondly, by the loſs which the French would ſuſtain in the proſecution of the trade: for whatever loſs is in this way incurred by thoſe, whom at any future period we are to meet upon the ſeas, ſuch loſs is to be carried over to our ſide of the account, as ſo much additional gain: nor would any lot of *nine hundred* effective ſlaves be delivered into the uncultivated parts of St. Domingo, or the old eſtabliſhed plantations among the French, but *thirty-five* ſeamen in the firſt inſtance, and *ſixty* in the ſecond, might be conſidered to be added to our marine.

In the third place the ſlaves of the Britiſh planters being attached to the ſoil by birth, being bound to their maſters by gratitude, and living among their relatives and friends, would be a firm and faithful protection to the iſlands in the time of war. A part of the naval and military force, formerly ſent for their defence, could then act on the offenſive: whereas the French, on the other hand, would not only be tied down in theſe particulars, but would have to defend their iſlands, in conjunction with a people who had been robbed of the natural rights of men, and who would ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered of gratifying their revenge.

To

To ſum up the whole. If the French, whenever we ſhould aboliſh the ſlave trade, would co-operate with us in the plan, then would the cauſe of humanity be eſſentially ſerved; for even the advocates for ſlavery allow, that if the two nations were to coincide in this particular, the buſineſs would be effectually done: but if, on the other hand, they ſhould perſevere in the continuance of it, and enter into it more extenſively than before, then would the higheſt political advantages reſult to us, who relinquiſhed it; for if we could lay our hands on our hearts, and ſay that the ſlave trade was either humane or juſt, there are few events that we could wiſh for more to the intereſt of this kingdom than that, when the Engliſh relinquiſhed it, the *French would take it up.*

CHAP. V.

I have now replied to all the arguments of any conſequence that I have ever heard advanced in favour of the policy of the ſlave trade, or againſt the expediency of its abolition. It only remains, therefore, that I ſhould collect into one point of view the ſubſtance of what has been ſaid throughout the whole of the preſent work.

It has appeared, that the ſlave trade, conſidered abſtractedly by itſelf, is of *no emolument to the nation*; that it is *unprofitable*, on the whole, *to individaals*; and that it is the *grave of our ſeamen*, deſtroying more of them in one year, than all the other trades of Great Britain, when put together, deſtroy in two.

It has appeared, on the other hand, that the trade which might be ſubſtituted for it in the natural productions of Africa, if conſidered in the ſame light, would, by affording an inexhauſtible mine of wealth to our dyers and artificers in wood, by enabling us to break the monopoly of the Dutch in ſpices, by repaying us for the loſs of America, and by becoming the cheapeſt market for all ſorts of raw materials for our manufacturers, be of *great national advantage.*

It

It has appeared, ſecondly, that ſuch a trade would be highly *profitable to individuals.*

Thirdly, that it would be a *nurſery for our ſeamen*, not only to cheriſh and preſerve them, but to return them in health and vigour, in caſe of an emergency, in a few weeks.

Fourthly, that it could not poſſibly *interfere* with the productions of our *preſent colonies.*

This is the firſt ſtatement that may be collected from a peruſal of the preſent work.

To proceed. It has appeared alſo, that, if the ſlave trade were aboliſhed, ſuch an abolition could not be productive of any immediate detriment, but would be attended with *future gain.*

Firſt, the planter would be relieved from a continual ſource of embarraſſment and diſtreſs; his property would be increaſed, his annual returns would be larger, he would feel himſelf in an independent ſituation, in point of ſubſiſtence, both in peace and war, and he would have the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of going to his bed fearleſs of any private machinations, and in full confidence that his property, as well as his perſon, would be ſecure.

Secondly, his ſlaves, neceſſarily experiencing, on one hand, a diminution of their former rigours, and raiſed, by certain regulations, to poſitive advantages on the other, they would be admitted to a conſiderable portion of happineſs, and their condition be conſiderably improved.

Thirdly, the iſlands would be ſafe in the time of war.

Fourthly, new ſources would be opened for the improvement of the revenue.

Fifthly, new ſources would be opened for the conſumption of our manufactures.

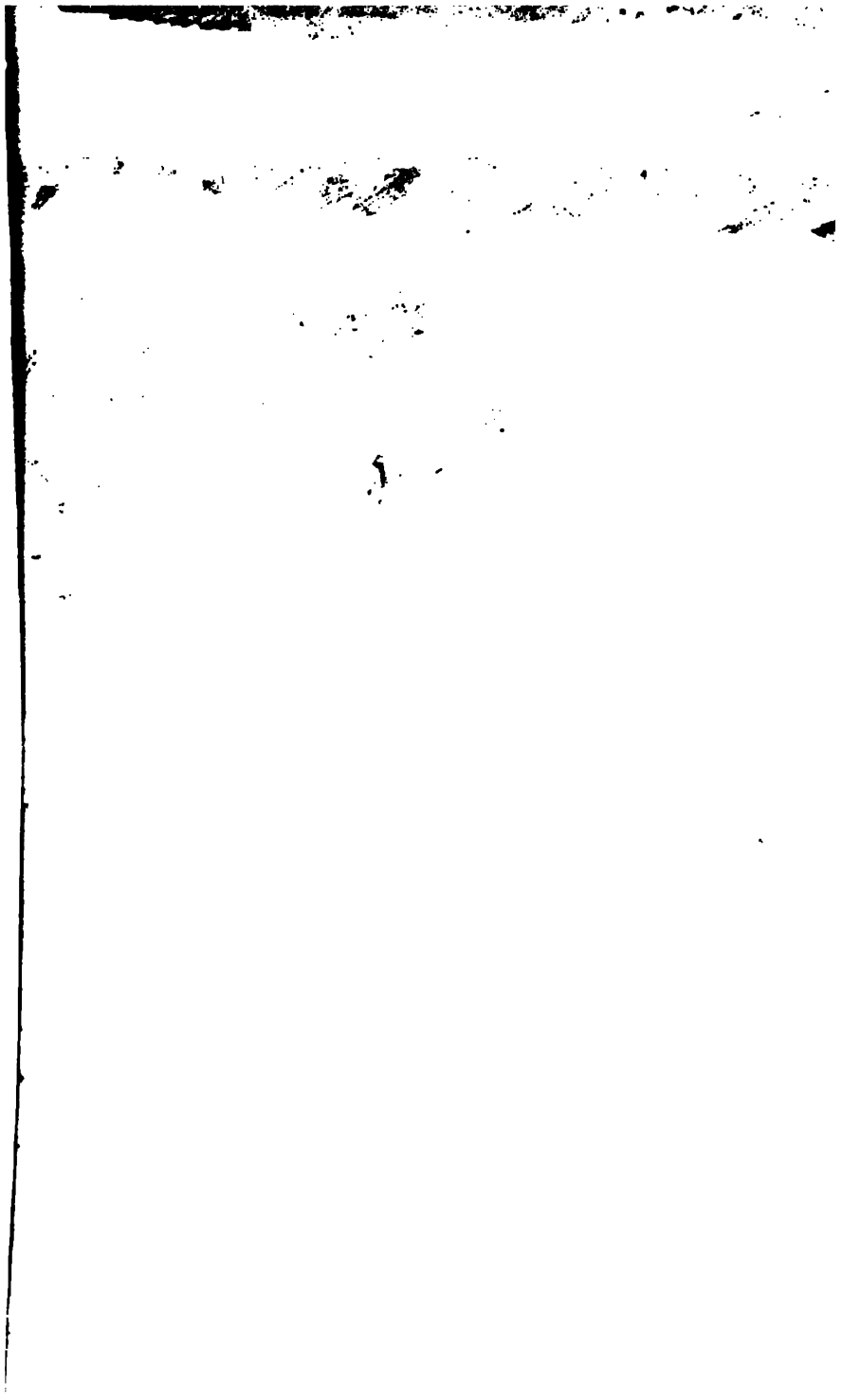
This is the ſecond ſtatement that may be collected from the preſent work; and I think it is evident, upon a mature conſideration of both, unleſs a perſon wilfully ſhuts his eyes, that the ſlave trade is (as I undertook to ſhew in the introductory chapter) as *impolitick as it is inhuman and unjuſt.* For when we conſider that this trade, by deſtroying our marine, is not only a *political evil* in itſelf,

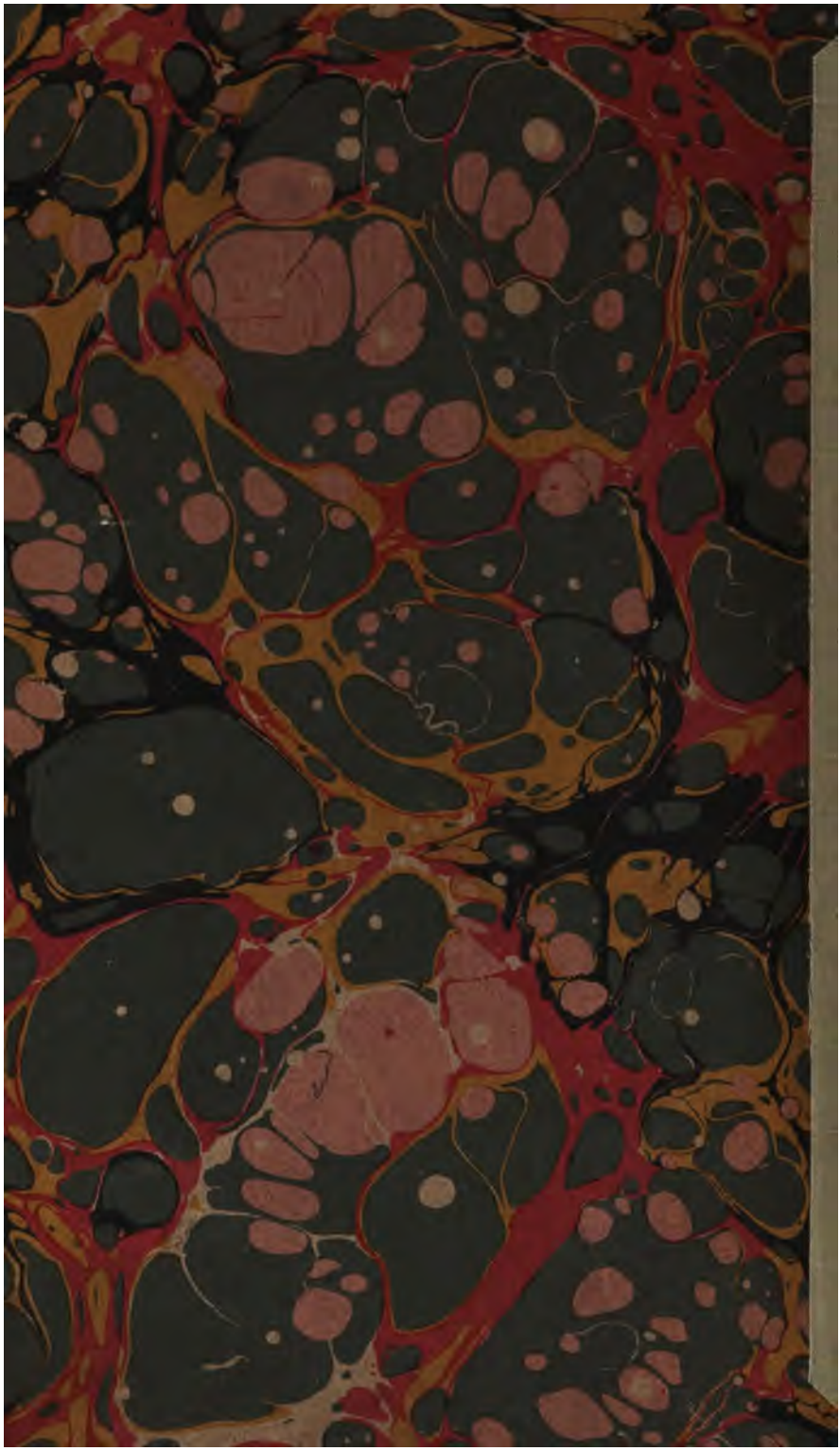
but that it *hinders the introduction of one*, to which if it were compared in point of individual or national emolument, it would be like an iſland to a continent, or a river o a ſea; and that it *prevents the exiſtence* of thoſe important advantages both to the colonies and this kingdom that have been deſcribed above; we may ſafely ſay, that whatever arguments the *moraliſt* is able to collect from the light of reaſon, or the *man of humanity* from his feelings, the ſtateſman is able to collect others from the ſource of *policy*, that call equally aloud for its ABOLITION.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

In page 88, and line 31, for *Antigua*, read *St. Chriſtopher's*.





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